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HISTORY OF ALABAMA.

VOL. II.



Ancient Indian Fortifications, at Little River Falls, Cherokee County, Alabama, from a sketch by A. J. Pickett, who visited that place, in October, 1850.

HISTORY

ALABAMA,

[illegible]

GEORGIA AND MISSISSIPPI,

[illegible]

BY

ALBERT [illegible]

[illegible]

IN TWO [illegible]

VOL. II.

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CHARLESTON:
WALKER AND JAMES.
1851



HISTORY

OF

ALABAMA,

AND INCIDENTALLY OF

GEORGIA AND MISSISSIPPI,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD.

BY

ALBERT JAMES PICKETT,

Of Montgomery.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

SECOND EDITION.

CHARLESTON:

WALKER AND JAMES,

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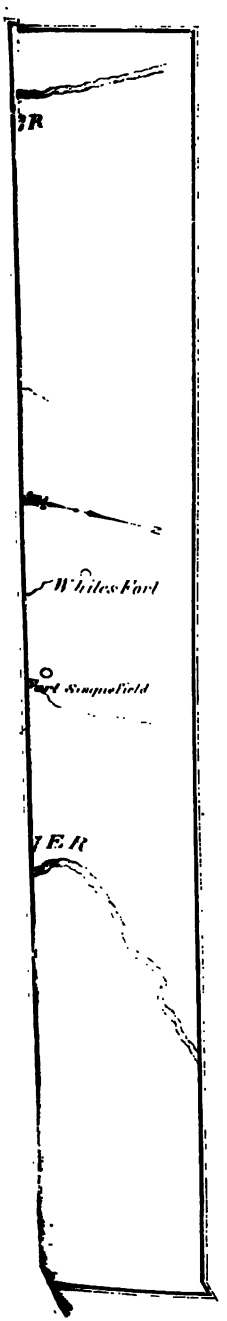
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THE OCCUPATION OF ALABAMA AND MISSISSIPPI BY THE ENGLISH.

CHAPTER XIV.

We mentioned, at the conclusion of the first volume of this work, that France had surrendered all of her North American possessions. Before finally doing so, however, she made a secret treaty with Spain, her ally, in which she ceded to that power the territory on the western side of the Mississippi, extending from the mouth of that river to its remotest sources, and including the Island of New-Orleans, which lay on the eastern side of the great river, and south of the Bayou Iberville or Manchac.

1762 November 3

Afterwards, a general peace between the three powers was concluded at Paris. France ceded to England all her Canadian possessions, and all that portion of Louisiana which lies on the eastern side of the Mississippi river, from its sources down to Bayou Iberville, which bayou, with a portion of the

1763 February 18

CHAPTER XIV.

Amite, and a line through Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea, was to form the southern boundary. France also ceded to England the port and river of Mobile. Spain ceded to Great Britain her province of Florida.

1763 October 7

The King of England decreed that Florida should be formed into two governments, called the provinces of East and West Florida; that the northern line of West Florida should be the line of 31°, to run from the Chattahoochie to the Mississippi. But afterwards, understanding that this line did not embrace the valuable settlements at Natchez and above there, he again decreed the boundaries of West Florida to be as follows: a line, to begin at the mouth of the Yazoo, where that stream joins the Mississippi, and to run east to the Chattahoochie; thence down the Chattahoochie, to the mouth of the Apalachicola; thence westward, along the coast of the Gulf, and through Lakes Borgne, Pontchartrain and Maurepas, up to the river Amite; then along Bayou Iberville, to the Mississippi river, and up the middle of that river, to the mouth of the Yazoo.

1764 February

The territory within these lines, which was known for a period, dating from 1764 to 1781, as West Florida, embraced a large portion of the present States of Alabama and Mississippi. The northern line of the British province of West Florida, thus constituted, was that of 32° 28′. While a large portion of Alabama fell *below* this line, and was incorporated into British West Florida, more than half of our State, in a northern direction from the line of 32° 28′, was embraced in the British province of Illinois.

CHAPTER XIV.

The province of Illinois was not only made to embrace more than the half of our State, and more than half of Mississippi, but also the western portions of Tennessee, Kentucky, and the country from thence to Lake Michigan. The province of West Florida, which was made to embrace the southern portion of Alabama, extended from the line of 32° 28′, southward, to the Gulf of Mexico. We are thus particular in elucidating the British division of our State, because, hereafter, the reader will be made acquainted with the contentions which arose with the Spaniards, Georgians, and the Federal Government, in relation to it.

1764

To enable the reader still better to understand this matter, the line of 32° 28′, which divided the Illinois portions of Alabama and Mississippi from the Florida portions of those States, was a line which commenced at the mouth of the Yazoo, and thence ran eastward, to the Tombigby, striking that river a little below the present town of Demopolis, continuing east, touching the Alabama river a short distance below the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, and terminating on the west bank of the Chattahoochie, between the present city of Columbus and old Fort Mitchell. During the British occupation of our State, its Illinois portion was uninhabited by Europeans, excepting a few traders, who lived among the Upper Creeks, Cherokees and Chickasaws. It is rather singular to reflect that, during this period, the site of Montgomery was in British West Florida, while the site of Wetumpka was in British Illinois. These sister cities are within fifteen miles of each other.

CHAPTER XIV.

Between the Mississippi and the Wabash, a population of five thousand French and five hundred negroes existed. But when the French commandant at Fort Chartres—the capital of the Illinois province, opposite St. Louis—surrendered the country, in the spring of 1765, to Captain Sterling, of the British army, who came by way of Detroit, at the command of his King, to take charge of it, then the French, generally, retired across the river, into Spanish territory.

Captain George Johnstone, of the royal navy, was the first British governor of West Florida. He came to Pensacola, the seat of government, and brought with him a British regiment, and many Highlanders, from Charleston and New-York. He issued his proclamation, defining the limits of his jurisdiction, and proclaiming the laws which he was instructed to enforce. The civil government was organized under military commandants and magistrates. The superior courts were formed under English judges. The governor immediately proceeded to garrison Fort Conde, at Mobile, which he now named Fort Charlotte, in honor of the young Queen of Great Britain. Soldiers were also thrown into the forts at Baton Rouge, and Panmure, at Natchez. A detachment went up to the Coosa, and occupied Fort Toulouse; but it was, in a short time, withdrawn, when the works, in a few years, went to ruins.

1764 February

When Governor Johnstone arrived in West Florida, there came with him a Major Loftus, who had been appointed to take charge of the Illinois country. Early in 1764, that officer sailed from Pensacola to New-Orleans, and from thence

to Manchac, where he joined his detachment, which had been some time exploring that bayou. With four hundred men, he began the assent of the Mississippi, in boats and canoes. Reaching the heights of La Roche a Davion, where Fort Adams was afterwards built, he was suddenly attacked by armed Indians, from ambuscades, on both sides of the river. In this skirmish he lost several men, and had many wounded. He returned to Manchac, and despatched a captain, with twenty men, to Mobile, through the lakes, who arrived safe at that place. Major Loftus, with the residue of his command, dropped down to the Balize, and from thence went to Pensacola. Thus was the occupation of the Illinois country, for a time, prevented, by the fierce and successful hostility of these Indians.* 1764 April 5

The French population, along the east side of the Mississippi, to the Walnut Hills, was considerable, and, when they ascertained that British laws had been extended over them, many retired across the river, south of Manchac. Others, assured that they would not be disturbed, either in the enjoyment of the Catholic faith, or in their rights and property, remained in the country. The English authorities encouraged emigration, and many availed themselves of their liberal offers. The first Anglo-American colony came from Roanoke, in the province of North-Carolina, and established themselves between Manchac and Baton Rouge. They were fol- 1764 to 1768

* French and Spanish MS., Martin's History of Louisiana, Gayarre's Histoire de la Louisiane, Memoire Historique et Politique sur la Louisiane, par M. de Vergennes, Minister de Louis XVI.

CHAPTER XIV.

lowed by others, from North and South-Carolina, who crossed the mountains to the Tennessee, there constructing flat-boats, descended that river, into the Ohio, and thence passed down the Mississippi. Others, from Georgia, even cut through the wilderness, to find the Natchez country, which had become so favorably known. Emigrants from Virginia came down the Ohio. They all received, upon their arrival, liberal and extensive grants. After a while, emigrants came from Great Britain, Ireland and the British West Indies. During the three succeeding years, many flocked from Georgia, the Carolinas and New-Jersey, and established themselves upon the soil drained by the Bayou Sara, the Homochitto and Bayou Pierre. All these settlements extended from the Mississippi, back, for fifteen or twenty miles. A few years afterwards, the Scotch Highlanders, from North-Carolina, arrived, and formed a colony upon the upper branches of the Homochitto, thirty miles eastward of Natchez, and their numbers were, at a late period, increased by others from Scotland. This region afterwards assumed the name of New Scotland. They still retain much of their national character, and not a few of the old ones

1768 to 1778

speak the Gaelic. In 1770, emigrants came from New-Jersey, Delaware and Virginia, by the way of the Ohio, and, three years afterwards, a much greater number advanced by that route.

West Florida continued to be governed by the general commandant at Pensacola. With the exception of some futile attempts to form a colonial legislature, like those of the Atlantic provinces, it remained, the whole time, a mere military government. It was strengthened by garrisons at the

places mentioned, and also at Manchac, where Fort Bute was erected, in 1765, for the purpose of monopolizing the trade of the Lower Mississippi. England constantly introduced, through the lakes and by this fortified outlet, Africans, obtained from their native country. These were purchased by the French, Spanish and British settlers, in defiance of the laws of Spain. Through Manchac, the English also supplied the Spanish subjects with all kinds of merchandize. To arrest this illicit trade, Don Ulloa, the governor of Louisiana, constructed a fort on the south side of the Iberville, or Manchac, four hundred yards from Fort Bute; but with little effect. Negroes continued to be imported, and sugar, indigo, cotton and tobacco were extensively cultivated.*

Discord made her appearance in the councils of the province of West Florida soon after its organization. The colonists became very much dissatisfied with Governor Johnstone. He was succeeded by the Honorable Montforte Brown, in the capacity of lieutenant governor. Governor Elliot came in the place of Brown; but, when the latter died, Brown again came into power. He was, however, a second time replaced, when the Honorable Peter Chester assumed the government of the province, and under whose auspices it flourished for a long time. Governor Chester was universally esteemed.† 1772.

The year 1765 was fatal to the inhabitants of Mobile. The ravages of death gave it a reputation for unhealthiness, which, for years, kept it from increasing in population. In that year,

* Monette, vol. 1, pp. 405-7. † Roman's Florida, p. 4.

CHAPTER XIV. 1765

the 21st British regiment brought from Jamaica a contagious disease. Upon their arrival in Mobile, the officers and soldiers rioted in intemperance, and drank the water of stagnant pools. Death hovered over these imprudent people, until none remained. Indeed, the English population, generally, lived too fast, converting day into night, and sporting their lives away in dissipation.

Far otherwise was it with the French inhabitants. Among them were exhibited instances of greater longevity than could be found in any other part of North America. In the family of the Chevalier de Lucere this was particularly the case. Its

1771

members were all extremely aged, and the mother of all died a few years previous to that period, from the snapping of her legs—the effect of the last stages of the gout. M. Francois, who then lived five miles above Fowl river, stated his age to be above eighty-three, and that the old woman, who was in the kitchen, cooking, and walking with activity and cheerfulness from one house to another, was his mother. She was one of the first females that came to Mobile from France. At the age of sixty-five, Francois fell from a pine tree, which he was climbing, to disengage some game, which had lodged in the branches. If this accident had not occurred, he would not have felt the hand of time. Although now over eighty-three years of age, he was accustomed, almost daily, to walk five miles to the bay, angle there for hours, and, at night, walk home with a mule's load of fish upon his back, some of which his affectionate mother would instantly prepare for the supper of herself and her dutiful child!

They lived comfortably, on a small farm, subsisting upon its products, and those of a large herd of cattle. Many other cases of protracted life were witnessed by travellers to this country. The French assimilated their constitutions to the climate, by a regular, abstemious life, refraining from spirituous liquors in the summer, and obtaining pure drinking water, from a rivulet, three miles back of the town. It was also the custom of many to spend the fatal months upon their plantations, up the Tensaw and Mobile rivers, where the air appears, at that day, to have been far more salubrious than in Mobile.* The plantation of the Chevalier de Lucere was on the first island, below the confluence of the Tombigby and Alabama. Many of the islands on the Tensaw and Mobile rivers were well cultivated, by the French, and also by the English, who worked them in summer, and withdrew their laborers, in winter, to their settlements, hard by among the hills, where they engaged extensively in making tar and pitch, for exportation.

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1771

1772

The first plantation, after that of the Chevalier de Lucere, passed in descending the Mobile river, was that of Campbell. Then followed those of Stewart, Andrey, McGillivray, Favre, Chastang, Strother and Narbone. Five miles below the latter was the site of an old French fort, which was once occupied a short time. Six miles further down, was, at one time, a splendid plantation, the property of the French Intendant of Mobile, but which now belonged to M. Lizars.†

* Barnard Roman's Florida, pp. 4–13. † Ibid.

CHAPTER XIV.

1772

The articles exported from Mobile and Pensacola, in 1772, were—indigo, raw hides, corn, fine cattle, tallow, rice, pitch, bear's oil, tobacco, tar, squared timber, indigo seed, myrtle wax, cedar posts and planks, salted wild beef, pecan nuts, cyprus and pine boards, plank, of various woods, shingles, dried salt fish, scantling, sassafras, canes, staves and heading, hoops, oranges, and peltry.

Cotton was not enumerated among the articles of export, but it is mentioned as having been, at that time, cultivated to some extent, and machines, for separating the lint from the seed, were in use. One of these is thus described by Captain Roman:

"It is a strong frame, of four studs, each about four feet high, and joined, above and below, by strong transverse pieces. Across this are placed two round well-polished iron spindles, having a small groove through their whole length, and, by means of treaddles, are put in opposite motions. The workman sits behind the frame, with a thin board before him, upon which is placed the cotton, thinly spread, which the rollers receive. The lint goes through the rollers, and the seed falls down in a separate pile. The French population have much improved upon this plan, by a large wheel, which turns two of these mills, with so much velocity, that seventy pounds of clean cotton can be made every day."

Mr. Crebs, upon the Pascagoula river, owned one of these improved machines, and claimed the invention of it. He suspended canvass bags between pine trees, and packed in

his cotton by treading, making them almost three hundred weight.* CHAPTER XIV.

1772 August 30 to September 3

Mobile, in common with the whole of West Florida, was visited with the most awful storms. Vessels, boats and logs were driven up into the heart of the town. The violence of the winds forced the salt water over the gardens, which destroyed the vegetables. The spray rose in the air, and fell again, at the distance of a half mile, like rain. All the houses were filled with water, several feet deep, and the one inhabited by a joiner was run entirely through by a schooner, which had broken from her moorings.

Upon the Pascagoula, the storm was equally furious. The plantation of Mr. Crebs was almost entirely destroyed. A large crop of rice and corn was completely swept off. His dwellings were unroofed, his outhouses blown down, and his smith's shop washed away. For thirty miles, up that river, the cypress trees were prostrated and the pines twisted into ropes. At Batereaux's cow-pen, the herdsmen were six weeks collecting and bringing home their cattle. A colony of German's up the Pascagoula, fearing that another Noah's flood was at hand, were about to set out for the Choctaw nation; but the abatement of the waters preceded their usually slow movements. The whole west coast was ravaged. A schooner, with a detachment of the 16th British regiment on board, was driven to Cat Island, and, when under the west point, parted her cables, and was carried entirely over the island, and stranded upon

* Barnard Roman's Florida, pp. 211–12.

CHAPTER XIV.

another, which bore the name of Freemason. There the crew remained six weeks, and would have perished, but for their discovery by a hunting smack. The different directions of the currents of wind were passing strange. That from the south-east drove the water, in immense volumes, up all

1772

the bays, rivers and bayous to the west, being here counteracted by the winds from the north-east. A body of water was violently forced into the Bay of Spirito Santo, behind the Chandelier, Grand Gazier and Breton Isles, and, not finding sufficient vents up the rivulets, nor down the outlets of the bay, forced a number of deep channels through these islands, thus forming many new islands. The Chandelier, being higher than the others, had all its surface washed off, and, but for the roots of the black mangrove and myrtle, which held much of the earth together, not a vestige of it would have been left. All the shipping at the Balize was blown into the marshes. A Spanish vessel there parted, and the whole crew were drowned. The most extraordinary effect of this hurricane was the production of a second crop of leaves upon all the mulberry trees, which had never happened before. This tree budded, foliated, blossomed, and bore ripe fruit, within the brief space of four weeks after the terrible gusts had passed away. Other trees remained naked, until the following spring.*

At this time, Governor Chester was at the head of the government of West Florida. He was universally esteemed,

* Roman's Florida, pp. 4–13.

and, under his auspices, the people prospered, and their valuable products continued to increase. Slavery was in existence, and the government of the mother country was active in transporting Africans into this country. The free- 1772 March holders assembled in Mobile, Pensacola, and other parts of the province, to elect representatives to a colonial legislature; but, finding that the writs required the continuance of members for three years in office, they added the condition to their votes, that the elected members were to serve but one year. The governor, disliking this arrangement, declined to accept it. The freeholders remained inflexible, and, rather than be deprived of annual elections, choose to remain without representatives.* CHAPTER XIV.

In 1771, Pensacola contained about one hundred and eighty houses, built of timber, in good taste, and arranged with much convenience. The town formed an oblong square, near the foot of an eminence, called Gage Hill, named in 1771 honor of the great British officer, well remembered by the whigs of America.†

Turning our eyes towards the British province of Georgia, we find that the Cherokees and Creeks had assembled at 1773 June 1 Augusta, at the instance of Sir James Wright, the governor, and John Stuart, superintendant of Indian affairs. These Indians there ceded to Great Britain a large area of territory, upon the head waters of the Ogechee, and north-west of Little river. The object was to compensate the Honorable

* Roman's Florida, pp. 4–13. † Ibid, p. 303.

CHAPTER XIV.

George Galphin, and some other traders, for large debts due them by these nations. The governor, having no power to accept this cession, but seeing the influence it would enable him to wield, in behalf of the tottering power of his King, to whom he was devotedly attached, he had already obtained the consent of the ministry to make the treaty. But Galphin never obtained any of these lands, or the proceeds of the sales thereof, on account of his boldly expressed patriotic opinions; and Gov. Wright, with a vindictive partiality, paid the *loyal* traders, in preference, keeping the larger portion of the proceeds, to strengthen his government, and perhaps to add to his own coffers. Galphin was wealthy; he sacrificed thousands in defence of American liberty, and, to this day, his descendants remain without remuneration.* It is said that Gov. Wright received the order of knighthood, for the unjust direction which he gave these funds. In the meantime, land offices had been established at Augusta, and at the confluence of the Broad and Savannah rivers, where a town was laid out, called Dartmouth, but which was subsequently changed to the name of Petersburg.

1773

* Since I have written this paragraph, some of the heirs of Galphin have received a large amount of money, from the United States government, on account of this claim. They had previously applied to Georgia, Great Britain, and the United States, without success. The claim of the heirs of Galphin was just upon one of these powers; but many have contended that it was not a just claim upon the federal government, but one upon Georgia, while others have contended that it was a just claim upon Great Britain.

CHAPTER XIV.

This newly ceded territory began to be rapidly settled, when a party of Creeks attacked Sherrill's Fort, killed seven persons, and forced the others to barricade an outhouse, where they would have been butchered, but for the timely arrival of Captain Barnard, with forty men, who dispersed the enemy. Other attacks by the Indians succeeded, and the settlers abandoned their new homes, and retired into the old British settlements, lower down, upon the Savannah. The noble Galphin, who had great influence with the Indians, despatched runners to the nation, who induced the Chiefs to put a stop to the effusion of blood, which afforded the settlers the opportunity of coming back, and of renewing their abandoned improvements.*

1774

* McCall's History of Georgia, vol. 2, pp. 11–12.

CHAPTER XV.

HARDSHIPS OF THE EARLY EMIGRANTS.

CHAPTER XV.

TAKING the reader with us, to the settlements of the distant Natchez region, he will find that emigrants continued to pour in, upon those fertile hills and alluvial bottoms, from all parts of "his majesty's Atlantic plantations." Many were the hardships and perils they encountered, in reaching this remote, and comparatively uninhabited region. It is believed that the history of one party of these emigrants will enable the reader to understand what kind of hardships and deprivations all the others were forced to undergo.

Major General Phineas Lyman, a native of Durham, a graduate of Yale, a distinguished lawyer, and a member of the legislature of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, became commander of the Connecticut forces, in 1755. He served with so much distinction, during the Canadian war, that he was invited, by persons high in office, to visit England. He had formed an association, composed of his brothers in arms, called the "Military Adventurers," whose design was, the colonization of a tract of country upon the Mississippi. He sailed to England, as agent for this company, with the sanguine, yet reasonable hope, that the King would make the

grant. Arriving there, he found, to his astonishment, that land in a wilderness was refused to those who had fought so valiantly for it, and whose contemplated establishment would have formed a barrier against enemies, who might seek to acquire it. In his own country, Lyman had never solicited favor, otherwise than by faithful public services. The coolness which he now experienced deeply mortified him—his spirits sank, and he lost all his former energy. Shocked at the degradation which he imagined he should sustain, by returning home unsuccessful, he made up his mind to bury his bones upon an ungrateful soil. There he remained for eleven years, a neglected man. His wife, a lady of superior endowments, distressed at his long absence, sent her son to solicit his return. The sight of his boy called up the remains of his resolution, and he resolved to go back to America, as the grant upon the Mississippi had at last been made.* He reached home in 1773. But the grave had closed over most of his original associates, while others had arrived at an age unsuitable to bold enterprizes. In company with his eldest son, a man of rare attainments, but who had become subdued and listless, in consequence of the deep distress and mortification of his father, while so long absent, General Lyman sailed from New-England with a number of emigrants, in two vessels, bound for New-Orleans. 1773 December

CHAPTER XV.

It is deemed proper that an enumeration of these emigrants

* "Travels in New-York and New-England," by Theodore Dwight, S.T.D., LL.D., late President of Yale College, vol. 1, pp. 306–16.

CHAPTER XV.

be here made, as the eyes of some of their descendants, still living in Mississippi, may perhaps rest on these pages. On board of these vessels, were

General Lyman, of Suffield.

Captain Ladley, of Hartford.

Thomas and James Lyman, Durham.

Hugh White, Middletown.

Captain Elsworth, Ira Whitmore and —— Sage, Middleton.

Major Easley, Weatherford.

1773 Thaddeus and Phineas Lyman, with eight slaves, Suffield.

Moses and Isaac Sheldon, Roger Harmon and —— Hanks, Shuffield.

Seth Miller, Elisha and Joseph Flowers, Springfield.

Moses Drake, Ruggles Winchel and Benjamin Barber, Westfield.

—— Alcott, Windsor.

Daniel and Rosswell Magguet, Hartford.

Thomas Comstock, —— Weed, New-Hartford.

Captain Silas Crane, Robert Patrick, Ashbell Bowen, John Newcomb and James Dean, of Lebanon.

Abram Knapp and Matthew Phelps, of Norfolk.

Giles and Nathaniel Hull, James Stoddart and Thaddeus Bradley, Salisbury.

Ephraim Case and Hezekiah Rew, Sheffield.

John Fisk and Elisha Hale, Wallingford.

Timothy and David Hotchkiss, Waterberry.

John Hyde, William and Jonathan Lyon, and William Davis, Stratford or Derby.

James Harman and family, and Elnathan Smith, Suffield. CHAPTER XV.
William Hurlbut and Elisha Leonard, with a number of slaves, Springfield.

General Lyman and these emigrants at length saw the 1774
mouth of the Mississippi, passed up to New-Orleans, there obtained boats, and, after a laborious ascent of that powerful stream, arrived upon the Big Black river. He settled his grant, but was too old to cultivate it. In a short time, his son died, and, before he could arrange his own affairs, to return home, for the purpose of bringing out his family, the grave also closed over him, terminating a life, first, of honor and military glory, and then of sadness and misfortune. But the half has not yet been told of the troubles of his family, the last of whom were miserable sufferers in the Creek nation, Summer of 1781
as will hereafter be narrated.

Captain Matthew Phelps, one of the companions of Gen. Lyman, returned to Connecticut, and his representations of the fertility of the new country excited many of the citizens, who resolved to return with him to occupy it. But various causes prevented their departure. At length, however, they 1776 May 1
sailed from Middletown. Among these emigrants were Madame Lyman, the wife of the late General, with three sons and two daughters; Major Timothy Dwight, his wife and one child; Sereno and Jonathan Dwight, of North Hampton; Benjamin Day and his family; Harry Dwight and three slaves; Joseph Leonard and Joshua Flowers, with their families, from Springfield; the Rev. —— Smith and his family, from Granville; Mrs. Elnathan Smith and children, and John

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Felt and his family, from Suffield, together with Captain Phelps, wife and children, with many others.*

After a voyage of three months, attended with many dangers, the party reached New-Orleans, on the 1st August. Here, obtaining boats, they began to stem the muddy current of the Mississippi. Mrs. Flowers, an estimable lady, who was too sick to continue the voyage, was left at Point Coupee, where she soon died. The eldest daughter of Captain Phelps was seized with a violent fever, and, in a few days after, the enterprizing father became sick, with the same disease. Many of the emigrants suffered with fever, and the boats were moved slowly up the river, by the feeble efforts of those who were less debilitated. Captain Phelps and all his children becoming prostrated with disease, his boat was tied to the willows, while the others continued the voyage. His intimate friend, Leonard, who had messed with him at sea, arrived at Natchez, where he buried his wife. The boat containing the Lymans and the Rev. —— Smith reached Natchez about the same time, a few days after which the worthy minister closed his earthly career, and was soon followed to his long home by the refined and estimable Major Dwight. At length, those of this party who were left, reached the Big Black, and the improvements made by General Lyman. Here Madam Lyman soon died, and was buried by the side of her husband and son!

1776
August 1
August 18
August 27

* Memoirs and Advcntures of Captain Matthew Phelps, pp. 18–72, also his Appendix, pp. 60–63.

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The unfortunate Phelps remained in his boat, which was anchored fifteen miles above Point Coupee, when his daughter, Abigail, died. He was compelled to bury her with his own hands. All this time, it was only at intervals that his family were able to assist each other in the severe fits of the ague which afflicted them. 1778 September 7 to September 16

The Disposer of Events removed from this distressed man an infant, born on the ocean, whom the sailors had named "Atlantic." Phelps again had to perform the melancholy task of digging a grave, and burying the boy by the side of his lovely sister. Mr. Flowers, the other members of whose family had died below, came, with his child, in a small boat, to the gloomy habitation of Phelps. They now both obtained a larger boat, and, placing in it their joint effects, began again to ascend the river. The Phelpses were worn to skeletons, but, struggling forward, against singular adversity, and buoyed up with the hope of brighter scenes, they finally arrived at the landing of Natchez. Advancing, after a few days, they reached the Petit Gulf, where lived Philip Alston, a gentleman of wealth and humanity. Mrs. Phelps, worn down with trouble and disease, was rapidly approaching dissolution. In a few days she died, and Alston had her remains decently interred. He did all in his power to alleviate the sorrows of the unhappy husband, and sheltered him and his two remaining children under his hospitable roof. A few days afterwards, the fated Phelps began again to move up the river, and, upon gaining Grand Gulf, entered the hospitable abode of an old acquaintance. Leaving this place, he September 16 October 12

CHAPTER XV. 1776 November 24 came in sight of the mouth of the Big Black river, having consumed nearly one hundred days in performing a voyage from New-Orleans, which can now be accomplished in a few hours. Near this place, three years before, he had purchased some improvements. Captain Phelps was so debilitated, that he had hired a lad, of fourteen years of age, and a man, by November the name of Knapp, to propel his boat. Upon entering the Big Black, the captain and the boy, disembarking, walked along the bank, dragging the boat after them with a long line, while Knapp remained on board, to steer, in company with the children, a boy of five and a girl of ten years of age. The children were quietly sitting upon the bed on which they had suffered so much. Presently the boat entered a whirlpool, which forced the stern under a willow. Knapp jumped out and swam ashore. The terrified Phelps secured the end of the rope around a tree, and rushed to the spot where his all remained in such imminent peril. Unable to swim, he crawled into the river upon the willow, imploring his daughter to remain quiet, until he could get out her little brother. While the little fellow was wading the water in the bottom of the boat, endeavoring to reach his unhappy father, the willow began to sink, with the additional weight upon it, and, at that moment, an angry billow came rushing down, the boat suddenly went under, and the poor children were swept rapidly off. "Oh God, save them!" was all that the miserable Phelps could utter. Standing upon the unsteady willow, he saw them rise again to the surface, locked in each other's arms, and then sink forever. The bereaved man stood

upon the tree in mournful silence—wet, cold, emaciated—without property, without friends, and without children, and with no wife to encourage him and sympathize with him in his misfortunes. But Phelps was a Christian, and he bore up with astonishing fortitude. The calamities which had befallen him had been unavoidable, and yet he tortured his imagination, for some time, with reproaches upon himself. In addition to his weighty troubles, he found that, during his absence, his improvements had been taken from him, by a wretch, who availed himself of the customs of the country. Phelps, however, survived *all* this, and lived to be an old man, surrounded, in New-England, with a wife, children and plenty. He was long accustomed to relate to the sober Yankees the horrors which he experienced in the "Natchez country," with perfect composure; always, however, avoiding the last terrible affair, when his two children, whom God had spared him, and with whom he had expected yet to see much happiness in the wilderness, rose up to his view, from their watery bed, for one short moment, locked in each other's arms, and then went down forever.*

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1776 December

* Memoirs and Adventures of Phelps, pp. 56–100.

CHAPTER XVI.

JOURNEY OF BARTRAM THROUGH ALABAMA.

CHAPTER XVI. 1777 Summer

WILLIAM BARTRAM, the botanist, who has been mentioned in our remarks upon the aborigines of the country, passed through the Creek nation, and went from thence to Mobile. He found that that town extended back from the river nearly half a mile. Some of the houses were vacant, and others were in ruins. Yet a few good buildings were inhabited by the French gentlemen, and others by refined emigrants from Ireland, Scotland, England, and the Northern British Colonies. The Indian trade was under the management of Messrs. Swanson and McGillivray. They conducted an extensive commerce with the Chickasaws, Choctaws and Creeks. Their buildings were commodious, and well arranged for that purpose. The principal houses of the French were of brick, of one story, of a square form, and on a large scale, embracing courts in their rears. Those of the lower classes were made of strong cypress frames, filled in with plaster.

Major Farmar, one of the most respectable inhabitants of West Florida, who formerly had much to do with the colonial government, resided at Tensaw, in sight of the pre-

sent Stockton, where once lived the tribe of Tensaw Indians. The bluff sustained not only his extensive improvements, but the dwellings of many French families, chiefly his tenants, while his extensive plantations lay up and down the Tensaw, on the western side. Indeed, all up that river, and particularly on the eastern branch, were many well cultivated plantations, belonging to various settlers, while others were in ruins, having been abandoned by the French when the English took possession of the country. The plantations on the Mobile river, as seen five years before, have already been mentioned. At one of these Bartram stayed all night, in company with Dr. Grant, a physician of the garrison of Fort Charlotte. The occupant, who was an old gentleman and a famous hunter, annually killed three hundred deer, besides bears, panthers and wolves.

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Arriving at Pensacola, Bartram received from Dr. Lorimer, one of the honorable council, much politeness and attention. Mr. Livingston, the government secretary, took him to the department in which he did business. Shortly afterwards, Gov. Chester rode by in his chariot, having been upon a morning ride to his farm. He received the learned botanist with cordiality, invited him to remain some time in the country, to make his house his head-quarters, commended his laudable pursuits, and offered to defray his expenses in travelling over the country under his jurisdiction.

Pensacola, at this period, contained several hundred habitations. The governor's palace was a large stone building, erected by the Spaniards, and ornamented with a tower. The town was

1777 October

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defended by a large stockade fortress, of wood, on the plan of a tetragon, with a salient angle at each corner, where stood blockhouses a story higher than the curtains. Upon these, light cannon were mounted. Within this fortress was a council chamber, where the records were kept, also houses for the officers and barracks for the garrison, together with arsenals and magazines. The secretary resided in a handsome and spacious house, as did some eminent merchants and professional gentlemen.*

Returning to Mobile, the botanist presently embarked in a trading vessel, manned by three negroes, and set sail for Pearl river. Passing along the western coast, and reaching the mouth of Dog river, he there landed, and entered the woods for recreation. Here he saw the remains of the old Fort St. Louis de la Mobile, with a few pieces of iron cannon, and also vast iron kettles, for boiling tar into pitch. Pursuing his voyage, he again came to the shore, a few miles beyond, where resided a Frenchman, eighty years of age, who was active, strong and muscular; his mother, who was present, and who appeared to be brisk and cheerful, was one hundred and five years of age. Fifty years previous to this period, she had landed in Mobile, from la belle France. Arriving at Pearl island, Bartram took up his quarters at the house of a generous Englishman, named Rumsey, with whom he passed a month. Leaving this place in a handsome boat, navigated by three negroes, he coasted along the northern

1777 Autumn

* Bartram's Travels, pp. 402–407–412–414.

shore of Lake Pontchartrain, entered Lake Maurepas, and proceeded up the Amite river, for thirty miles, to the large plantation of a Scotch gentleman, who gave him a hospitable reception. Bartram, still ascending the Amite, next entered the Iberville, on the left, and it was not long before he reached a landing, at which was situated warehouses for depositing English merchandize. A beautiful road, overhung with evergreens, led from this place to Manchac, upon the Mississippi. Here, also, the English had mercantile depots, the chief establishment of which was that of Swanson and McGillivray, who were Indian traders. The Iberville was now dry, its channel being higher than the Mississippi, which had receded from it. It was, however, navigable in winter and spring, for the "Father of Waters" then disgorged some portion of his tide through this channel, into the lakes. It also separated, as before observed, the English colony of West Florida and the Spanish province of Louisiana. On one side of this bayou was an English fort, at Manchac, and just across, on the south point, was a Spanish fort. A slender wooden bridge connected the two establishments, and, strange to say, they were, at this time, peaceable, although such near neighbors. The next day Bartram began the ascent of the Mississippi, and, two miles above Manchac, stopped at an Indian town. The inhabitants were a portion of the Alabamas, who had once lived upon the river of that name, but who, when the French evacuated Fort Toulouse, followed them to Louisiana, and here had formed an establishment. The botanist visited Baton Rouge, now called by the English

CHAPTER XVI. New Richmond, and various plantations on both sides of the great river. He was particularly pleased with the French planters, who had long tilled these superior lands. They were ingenious, industrious, and lived in ease and great abundance.

About the middle of November, Bartram returned to Mobile, by the same route, arranged his specimen plants and flowers, and left them in the hands of Swanson and McGillivray, to be shipped to Dr. Fothergill, at London. He then entered a boat, and went to the mansion of Major Farmar, at Tensaw. The next morning he set out for the Creek nation, with a caravan of traders, who transported their merchandize upon pack-horses. The road, like all others in an Indian country, was narrow and well beaten. The pack-horses were arranged one after the other, the oldest and best trained in the lead. At night they were belled, and turned out to graze in the woods. In the morning, so much time was occupied in collecting them, arranging their packs, and preparing breakfast, that the sun was high before a start was made. Then these faithful animals fell into line on the trail, like regular soldiers, and began a brisk trot, which was continued all day, amid the ringing of their bells and the whooping and cursing of the drivers.

1777 November 27

When near the site of the present city of Montgomery, the caravan met a party of Georgians, consisting of a man, his wife, a young woman, several young children, and three stout young men, with a dozen horses, laden with their effects. These fearless people had passed through the Creek nation,

1777 December

then very extensive, and were on their way to settle upon the Alabama, a few miles above the confluence of that river and the Tombigby. They are believed to have been among the first Anglo-Americans who settled in the present Baldwin county.*

* Bartram, pp. 416–441.

CHAPTER XVII.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE McGILLIVRAY FAMILY—THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

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War had now raged between the mother country and her colonies of North America, for more than three years. It had become fierce and sanguinary along the Atlantic. But the people of West Florida, whose government was composed chiefly of military dependencies, had hitherto enjoyed peace. They were mostly loyal subjects of the King. But now, even in this remote region, the contest began to be felt. The Creek Indians were relied upon, mainly, by the British authorities, to harass the whig inhabitants of Georgia and Carolina. They had stationed at Hickory Ground, the site of the lower suburbs of the modern Wetumpka, Colonel Tait, an English officer, of captivating address, for the purpose of influencing the Creeks in behalf of the King. There, he soon became acquainted with the most gifted and remarkable man that ever was born upon the soil of Alabama, the history of whose family will now be given.

A Scotch boy, of sixteen years of age, who had read of the wonders to be seen in America, ran away from his wealthy

and respectable parents, living in Dunmaglass, and entered a ship which was bound for South-Carolina. He arrived, without accident, at the port of Charleston. Young Lachlan McGillivray there first set his feet upon American soil. He then had no property, except a shilling in his pocket, a suit of clothes upon his back, a red head, a stout frame, an honest heart, a fearless disposition, and cheerful spirits, which seldom became depressed. About this period, the English were conducting an extensive commerce with the Cherokees, Chickasaws and those of the Creeks who were not in the interest of the French. Young McGillivray repaired to the extensive quarters of the traders, in the suburbs of Charleston. There he saw hundreds of pack-horses, pack-saddles, and curious looking pack-horsemen, in demi-civilized garbs, together with packs of merchandize, ready to be carried to the wilderness. The keen eyes of one of these traders soon fell upon the smart Scotch boy, who, he saw at a glance, would be useful to him. The next day, Lachlan might have been seen, in the pine woods, several miles distant from Charleston, mounted upon a horse, and driving others before him, in company with a whole caravan of traders. Arriving upon the Chattahoochie, his master, as a reward for his activity and accommodating spirit, gave him a jack knife, which he sold to an Indian, receiving in exchange a few deer skins. These he sold in Charleston, upon his return, and the proceeds of this adventure laid the foundation of a large fortune. In the course of a few years, he became one of the boldest and most enterprising traders in the whole country. Whether it was owing

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to a superior address, a fearless disposition, or, which is more probable, a leaning towards the French, for personal interests, he even extended his commerce, without interruption, to the very neighborhood of Fort Toulouse.

At the Hickory Ground, a few miles above that fort, he found a beautiful girl, by the name of Sehoy Marchand, whose father once commanded at Fort Toulouse, and was there killed, in 1722, by his own soldiers, as we have already seen. Her mother was a full-blooded Creek woman, of the tribe of the Wind, the most aristocratic and powerful family in the Creek nation. Sehoy was an Indian name, which had attached to many persons of the family, time out of mind.

Sehoy Marchand, when first seen by young Lachlan McGillivray, was a maiden of sixteen, cheerful in countenance, bewitching in looks, and graceful in form. Her unfortunate father, Captain Marchand, was a Frenchman, of dark complexion, and, consequently, this beautiful girl scarcely looked light enough for a half blood; but then, her slightly curled hair, her vivacity, and peculiar gesticulation, unmistakably exposed her origin. It was not long before Lachlan and Sehoy joined their destinies in marriage, according to the ceremony of the country. The husband established a trading house at Little Tallase, four miles above Wetumpka, on the

About 1745

east bank of the Coosa, and there took home his beautiful wife. The Indian tradition ran, that, while pregnant with her first child, she repeatedly dreamed of piles of manuscripts, of ink and paper, and heaps of books, more than her eyes had ever beheld in the fort, when, a child, she used to visit

her father. She was delivered of a boy, who received the name of Alexander, and who, when grown to manhood, wielded a pen which commanded the admiration and respect of Washington and his cabinet, and which influenced the policy of all Spanish Florida. CHAPTER XVII.

Lachlan McGillivray, assisted by his alliance with the most influential family in the Creek nation, continued to extend his commerce. He became wealthy, and owned two plantations, well stocked with negroes, upon the Savannah, besides stores filled with Indian merchandize, in the towns of Savannah and Augusta. When his son, Alexander, was fourteen years of age, he carried him to Charleston, by the consent of his wife, for we have seen that, among the Creeks particularly, the children always belonged to the mother. He was placed at school in that town, and, after a few years, was transferred to a counting-house at Savannah. But Alexander had a distaste for business, and, while the other clerks were delving among the goods, and squabbling with the pack-horse traders, he was accustomed to steal to some corner, and there pore over the histories of European nations. Having an inordinate thirst after knowledge, his father, through the advice of his friends, again carried him to Charleston, and placed him with a clergyman of his name, with whom, in a short time, he mastered the Greek and Latin tongues, and became a good belles lettres scholar. But Alexander was now a man. He had a thousand times thought, and dreamed, of his bow and arrows, his blow-gun, his mother's house, by the side of the clear and beautiful Coosa, in which he used to fish and bathe

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with the Indian lads of his own age—of the old warriors, who had so often recounted to him the deeds of his ancestors—of the bright eyes of his two lovely sisters, Sophia and Jeannet—yes, he remembered all these, and, one day, he turned his back upon civilization, and his horse's head towards his native land.

About this time, the Chiefs of the Creek nation were getting into much trouble with the people of Georgia, and with anxiety they had awaited the time when Alexander McGillivray could, by his descent from the Wind family, assume the affairs of their government. His arrival now was most opportune, and the first we hear of him, after he had so suddenly left Charleston, he was presiding at a grand national council, at the town of Coweta, upon the Chattahoochie,

1776 May

where the adventurous Leclerc Milfort was introduced to him, as we have seen. He was, at this time, about thirty years of age. He was then in great power, for he had already become an object of attention, on the part of the British authorities

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of the Floridas. When Col. Tait was stationed upon the Coosa, they conferred upon Alexander McGillivray the rank and pay of a colonel, and associated him with Tait, for the purpose of procuring, through them, the alliance of the Creek nation, in the war of the revolution. McGillivray, throughout the whole war, was devoted to their interests, and it was natural that he should have pursued that course, towards those who first honored him; besides, his father, a man of great influence, was also a royalist.

Col. McGillivray was tall, rather slender, and of a consti-

tution by no means robust. To be a leader in war was not his *forte*, and was unsuited to his tastes and habits. His great power lay in diplomacy, and in the controlling of men, as the reader will often see, in perusing this history at a later date. In 1778, he carried on an extensive correspondence with the British colonial governments of Florida, and also with that of the province of Georgia, and was indefatigable in co-operating with Tait, in confederating the Indians against the whigs. During the war, he led, in person, several expeditions, with that officer; but his chief reliance was upon Leclerc Milfort, a man at once bold, daring, enthusiastic, possessed of an iron constitution, and every way qualified to lead Indians into battle. He often did so, while Col. McGillivray remained at home, controlling the arbitrary Chiefs, and compelling them to raise warriors for his King. All the while, McGillivray was not unmindful of the aggrandizement of himself and his nation, for it must be borne in mind that the blood which coursed his veins was Scotch, French and Indian. During the desperate struggle for human liberty, he acted in concert with many royalists, who had fled to East Florida, among the most conspicuous of whom were Colonel Daniel McGirth, and his brother, Captain James McGirth. They were bad men, but were brave and enterprising, and well suited to the times. Colonel McGirth commanded the "Florida Rangers," whose sudden and sanguinary attacks the whigs of Georgia often severely felt. Leaving Colonel McGillivray, with his red army and white allies, engaged in expeditions most harassing to the Georgians, on

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their western frontier, we hasten to portray the exciting scenes about Natchez.*

1778 March 7

Here, also, the revolution began to be felt. James Willing, of Philadelphia, with a small body of American soldiers, arrived at Natchez, by way of the Ohio. The ports upon that river, and the Upper Mississippi, had fallen into the hands of the Americans, and had been supplied, for more than a year, by shipments from New-Orleans, in consequence of a private arrangement between Don Galvez and Oliver Pollock, the American agent at New-Orleans. Willing was now sent to further that end, and he was supplied with blank commissions, and authorized to recruit for the American service. Knowing that the inhabitants of this part of West Florida were loyal subjects of Britain, to allay their opposition to his schemes, he first sought to place them in a neutral position. A man of ingenuity and address, he made speeches, eloquently depicting the justice of our cause, and the certainty of final success, and asserted that five thousand troops were then on their way to protect these inhabitants from the aggressions of the British government. He generally prevailed on them to take an oath of strict neutrality. Also enlisting a hundred men, whose officers he commissioned, he continued his voyage to

* MS. in my possession. Also information derived from conversations with the intelligent niece and nephew of Col. McGillivray, still living; also with old Indian traders, who knew him in those times. See also Milfort's "Sejour dans la Nation Crëck," and McCall's History of Georgia.

Manchac, and was equally successful there. By stratagem, he made himself master of an English armed ship, which he conveyed to New-Orleans, sold to the Spaniards, and wasted the avails in debauchery. With two subalterns, and forty of his original party, he returned to Manchac, plundered the plantations, without distinction, and rioted upon the booty. In the meantime, the Natchez people, hearing of these outrages, formed a large armed association, for their protection, and stationed themselves about the mouth of St. Catharine, not far below Natchez, to prevent the ascent of Captain Willing. He was presently seen to approach, but turned his boats to the opposite side of the Mississippi. Through the effects of a flag, and upon his professions of friendship, and assurances that he intended no injury to this section of the country, he received permission from the "settlers" to come over to them, across the river. After some consultation, he despatched Lieutenant Harrison, with a command, in a boat. In the meantime, the "associated settlers," reposing confidence in the promises of Willing, had abandoned their defensive positions, and now sat and lay upon the banks, at their ease. When the boat approached near enough, the gunner, by the orders of Lieutenant Harrison, fired a swivel upon the settlers, by which many were wounded. The latter instantly rose up, in great confusion, returned the fire with their guns, riddled the boat, and killed Lieutenant Harrison and seven of his men. The others came ashore, and surrendered. Willing, with his remaining banditti, fled to Manchac, sailed over to the Tensaw settlements, above Mobile, and endeavored, in

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vain, to enlist those people in his cause. He was eventually made a prisoner of war, and kept in the British camp, in chains, and was not released until the close of 1779.

The inhabitants now considered themselves absolved from their oath of neutrality, by the baseness of Captain Willing, and they all swore to defend the government of the King. They elected officers, repaired old Fort Panmure, and occupied it

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with a regular garrison. They also marched, in April, to the relief of the people in the neighborhood of Manchac, from which place Willing had already fled. Thus, by the indiscretions and outrages of the first American command sent here, our glorious cause was materially injured.*

Fort Panmure, at the Natchez, in a short time, received as a commander, Michael Jackson, a native of New-England, an abandoned horse-thief, who had been driven from the borders of civilization. During the whole of the fall and winter, this man, now a captain in the British service, produced great

* Memoirs and Adventures of Phelps, pp. 107–120. This author was one of the "associated settlers," and appears to have been a conscientious and truthful man. He is sustained by Judge Martin, in his History of Louisiana, vol. 2, pp. 42–3, in regard to the outrages of Willing. It is, however, due to the descendants of that officer, to observe, that Monette, in his History of the Valley of the Mississippi, represents him as a brave and honorable man, and severely censures the "associated settlers" for the perfidy which they displayed in the fire upon Harrison and his command. I, however, after a careful and dispassionate examination, believe the statement of Phelps. See Monette, vol. 1, pp. 434–6. Monette quotes Ellicott's Journal, pp. 131–2.

dissatisfaction, by his oppressions and extortions. Colonel Hutchens, an influential citizen of Natchez, put himself at the head of the malcontents, arrested and confined Jackson, and placed Captain Thaddeus Lyman in command. On promising to leave the country, he was released; but, the first night after his dismission from the fort, he was joined by thirty deserters, who were as abandoned as himself. Jackson now stationed himself "under the hill," where he seized some military stores and artillery. Sending runners to the Choctaws, they returned with a considerable force of these savages. Jackson now exultingly fired his artillery upon the fort; but his Indian allies, seeing the British flag flying from the ramparts, and learning the nature of the dispute, refused to be made the instruments of the rascal, and retired peaceably to their homes. Seeing himself abandoned, Captain Jackson requested a parley, which was agreed to, and he was suffered, with his men, to enter the fort, and there peaceably to remain, until the whole affair should undergo an investigation. Here he soon raised a mutiny, and, one night, caused the drums suddenly to beat to arms, and, seizing Captain Lyman, placed him in close confinement. His tyranny caused many to desert, who were pursued by a detachment, under Lieutenant Pentacost. An engagement took place, when Pentacost was killed, and the deserters made their escape to the Spanish garrison, at Manchac, across the Iberville. Again Jackson was overthrown, and forced to retire; but, before doing so, he robbed the fort of all the valuables which he could transport.*

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* Phelps, pp. 121–197.

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In this manner, the royalists were divided, and in the midst of their dissensions, a large number of whigs were scattered about the country, anxiously awaiting the time when they should be joined by aid from a distance, under Colonel Clark, of Virginia.

Although Spain had long experienced evasions of her revenue laws, on the part of the British, and had been compelled to establish a fort at Manchac, to prevent them, never-

1779 theless she had, up to this period, maintained a neutrality in the war waging between England and the United American Colonies. But France had not been an indifferent spectator, and the leaning of that power towards us brought about a collision with arbitrary John Bull. Spain interposed her friendly efforts to effect a reconciliation; but the canine propensities of England were aroused, and that ungenerous government declared war against Spain, as well as France. His Catholic Majesty, fired at the ruthless manner in which he had been treated, for a friendly act, now resolved to dispossess England of every foot of land in the Floridas. According to his directions, Don Galvez, the governor of his

September 1 province of Louisiana, stood before Fort Bute, at Manchac, with a force of fourteen hundred men. After a resistance of five days, it was carried by storm, and utterly demolished. Reinforced by a number of militia, including American patriots, Galvez marched up and invested Baton Rouge. After a severe cannonade, of two hours and a half, Colonel Dickson, the British commander, surrendered the fort, and a garrison of four hundred regulars and one hundred militia. Fort

Panmure, at the Natchez, a small fort and garrison on the Amite, and another, at Thompson's Creek, were also surrendered, at the same time. CHAPTER XVII.

Leaving Don Grandpre in command, at Baton Rouge, and, sending Spanish detachments to the other forts, which had already yielded to his arms, Galvez returned to New-Orleans, and there began extensive preparations for the reduction of Mobile. After encountering a terrible storm, which came near destroying his transports and stores, he landed his army a little below Mobile, early in March, 1780. Fort Charlotte refused to surrender, and Galvez planted his six batteries. A severe cannonade opened a breach in the fort, when the British officer capitulated, by the surrender of Mobile, and all its dependencies, extending from the Perdido to the Pearl river. Thus, the Spaniards were now in possession of all West Florida, except Pensacola, and the country as far as the Chattahoochie. Knowing the great strength of Pensacola, Galvez determined to be well prepared for a siege. He put in requisition all his disposable regular forces and militia, both of Louisiana and of the country which he had conquered, and, in the meantime, sailed to Havana, to obtain more troops and heavier artillery. With a large number of well-equipped troops, and an abundance of stores and ordnance, he entered the bay of Pensacola with his fleet, while his Louisiana and Mobile forces marched across the country, from the mouth of the Perdido. Being invested, both by sea and by land, General Campbell, after a vigorous defence, in which he was assisted by the Creek Indians, finally surren- 1780 March 14

CHAPTER XVII. 1781 May 9

dered. The Creeks, on this occasion, were commanded by William Augustus Bowles, an interesting person, who will figure in our narrative hereafter.

The town of Pensacola, the fortress and seaport, with eight hundred men, as prisoners of war, and the whole of West Florida, thus fell into the hands of the King of Spain. The victorious Galvez received many honors for his brilliant services.*

* Spanish MS.

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EXTREME PERILS AND SUFFERINGS OF THE NATCHEZ REFUGEES.

CHAPTER XVIII.

During the siege of Pensacola, a series of events, of an interesting and romantic character, began at Natchez, and afterwards ended, with unparalleled sufferings, in the vast Indian wilderness, which extended from thence to the Ogechee river, in the distant province of Georgia. Some citizens of the Natchez district, the most prominent of whom were Philip Alston, Colonel Hutchens, John Alston, Captain Thaddeus Lyman, Thompson Lyman, Jacob Blomont, and Jacob Winfrey, put themselves at the head of a large party of royalists, for the purpose of seizing Fort Panmure, and expelling therefrom the Spanish troops, who had held it since September, 1780. They had learned that a powerful British fleet was off the Florida coast, whose object was the re-occupation of this country, and, believing that Don Galvez had already been defeated, at Pensacola, they resolved immediately to anticipate what they supposed would be the desire of their King. Having assembled a large body of Choctaws, the insurgents assumed a position upon an eminence, above the town of Natchez, in full view of the fort. At night they

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advanced, and planted their artillery so as to bear upon the works; but, when day approached, the Spanish cannonade compelled them to retire. During the succeeding twenty-four hours, the firing continued between the parties. The commandant sent a flag to Colonel Hutchens, representing the danger of rebellion, and promising the clemency of his government, if the people would disperse, after they should have surrendered the ring-leaders. An answer was promised, to be returned the next day. During the interval, the malcontents arrested a man, bearing a despatch to the Spanish commandant. It was from Captain McIntosh, a warm friend of the Spaniards, who lived in the neighborhood, and who wrote, entreating the commandant to hold out a little while longer, when he would be supported by friends from the country. His letter was destroyed, and another substituted, written by one who could imitate the autograph of McIntosh. It was conveyed to the Spanish commandant, and disclosed the astounding news, that the insurgents, by means of a deep ravine, which was at the base of the fort, had formed a cavern, leading directly under the fort, in which a vast quantity of powder had been placed, ready to be exploded by a train; that the people of the country were flocking to the standard of the enemy, and he, consequently, suggested an honorable surrender. Not suspecting the fraud, the Spanish commandant, in his confusion and alarm, surrendered the fort, and marched his garrison to Baton Rouge.

1781 April 29

April

But the exulting insurgents were, in a few days, deprived of the fruits of their victory. The news reached them, that

General Campbell was defeated, and that the whole of West Florida had been surrendered to Spain. Consternation seized every one. They knew that they should receive no mercy at the hands of those whom they had harassed by rebellion, and conquered by stratagem. Abandoning the fort, they fled to the cane swamps, with their wives, children, horses, and movable effects, with the determination of cutting their way to the British settlements on the Savannah.* The avenues by the Mississippi were closed against them, by the Spaniards below, and the American whigs above. In a short time, more than one hundred individuals, besides slaves, mounted upon horses, and with other horses laden with their effects, set off to avoid the Spaniards, whom they had expected hourly to arrive at Natchez. Many of the children were small, and some were at the breast. They began their painful and distressing flight, by striking towards the prairie country, in the present State of Mississippi. Wishing to avoid the Chickasaws and Choctaws, into whose power they feared to fall, a circuitous route was wholly unavoidable, and they wandered from point to point, as their desperate circumstances led them. It was during an unusually dry spring, and the prairies, which they had now reached, afforded them no water. At one time, they suffered from the want of it with an intensity more than ordinary human beings, it would seem, could bear. Bordering upon desperation, and becoming bewildered, the

* Memoirs and Adventures of Phelps, Appendix, pp. 4–5. Monette, vol. 2, pp. 462–3.

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general direction, which they had endeavored to keep, was abandoned, and they now strolled over the country, with parched lips, under the burning rays of the sun, and amid the heart-rending cries of the children. Ever and anon, their anxious eyes fell upon distant clumps of trees, and their spirits revived, in the hope that there certainly would be found the sweet beverage of nature. Pushing on, to the delusive spot, they found it as moistureless as the land over which they had travelled. Mrs. Dwight, a heroine upon this eventful march, was descended from one of the best families of New-England. She exhorted the miserable caravan to persevere in their efforts to find water, although more than thirty-six hours had passed since they had wet their mouths. They now halted, and erected a small camp. The men, leaving the women and children in the camp, hunted, for hours, for water, but, towards evening, returned with their tongues exposed, and fell down in despair. The noble Mrs. Dwight now set out, in company with several men and women. Fortune led her to the foot of two adjoining hills. The surface of the ground was spongy, and here, by her directions, they began to dig. Hitherto, they had not resorted to this plan, but had wandered from point to point, expecting to find running streams. The signs of moisture increased, and presently slow drippings commenced. Redoubling their exertions, they struck a fountain. "Thank God!" was the shout of all. A messenger rapidly bore back the tidings. The miserable wretches rose from the ground, and rushed to the spot. Dr. Dwight, the husband of the lady mentioned above, stationed a guard over

the spring, until, by bathing the temples and the palms of the hands, they could drink a few drops, without fatal consequences. With their horses, also, who seemed as if they would tear up the very earth, and destroy every thing that obstructed their passage to the water, they adopted the prudent course, of allowing small quantities at a time. All night, a continual drinking went on. The next day, filling their vessels from this spring, they continued north-east, and, on that day, happily reached some of the sources of the Tombigby. But now their provisions were exhausted. They killed and devoured the few things which crossed their route, and the meat of a large terrapin, divided into small pieces, once saved their lives. They had but little ammunition, which was reserved for defence alone. Having lost their compass, they could only follow the sun, which was sometimes obscured by clouds. It rained occasionally, now that they had crossed the prairies. Now and then they came across small hunting parties of Indians, who, at night, robbed them of their pack-horses and plundered their effects. In addition to all these misfortunes, a loathsome disease spread in the camp. Finally, after wandering nearly to the Tennessee river, and then marching in a nearly southern direction, they reached the Tombigby, about the site of the present town of Aberdeen, where they crossed upon rafts, constructed of dry logs. They next made the Warrior, at the Tuscaloosa Falls, which they crossed, by alternately wading and swimming, from rock to rock. Unfortunately, from this point, they assumed an improper direction. Fearing to fol-

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low any trail, they, after a long time, found themselves among the mountains of Blount county, Alabama. Having come thus far, again, towards the Tennessee, they thought that they might reach Georgia, by way of the Cherokee nation, and they continued in that direction, until, one day, in a distant valley, they saw some persons approaching. All was breathless suspense. Presently an old Indian-trader, with two Chickasaw Indians, rode up, for they were now upon a trail. Shocked at the condition of the miserable caravan, the trader generously gave them all the provisions he had, and shared among them his last gallon of taffai.* He warned them not to attempt to reach Georgia through the Tennessee mountains, for they would meet with insurmountable obstacles, and be cut off by the Cherokees, many of whom were now in the interest of the whigs; but advised them to assume a southern direction, and enter the Creek nation, the inhabitants of which were entirely under the influence of Colonel McGillivray, who was a man of humanity, and a friend of King George. Turning immediately southward, they once more struck through the woods, re-crossed the mountains, and, after incessant toil and hunger, passed over those which border the Cahawba. Most of them had to walk, and lead their horses over the perilous rocks, while their naked feet bled at every pore. Finally, the caravan arrived upon the banks of the Coosa, in the upper part of

1781 June

1781 July

* A mean New-England rum, the only spirituous liquor drunk, in those days, by the Indians.

the present county of Autauga, a few miles below the Big Island. Here the river was wide and deep, and its bottom rocky. But occasionally it was partially obstructed by small clumps of rocks, between which rushed the rapid current. CHAPTER XVIII.

The feeble wanderers lay down upon the wild banks, without energy to construct a raft. Indeed, some believed that a raft would be torn to pieces by the rocks. Mrs. Dwight, who continued to infuse a spirit of resolution into the party, which had, thus far, overcome all difficulties, put herself forward, and declared that, if but one man would accompany her, she would attempt the passing of the river, when, perhaps, on the other side, they might find a canoe, or some better crossing-place. Her husband, roused by her intrepidity, swore that he would not suffer his wife to risk her life for the good of the company, without sharing in her perils. These two, with one other, then plunged their horses into the river, and the current carried them some distance down, to a dry bed of rocks. Proceeding over these, to the farther end of the ledge, the two horsemen plunged from a steep rock, and disappeared under the water, but presently arose, and their faithful horses carried them to the opposite shore. Mrs. Dwight, shutting her eyes, then made the fearful leap, and arose with her hands hold of the horn of her saddle. She, too, happily reached the opposite shore. Then the fearless party gave a whoop, to encourage their anxious friends, whom they had left behind. A mile above this they found a large, old Indian canoe, which had been stove against the rocks. Stopping the seams with whatever they could obtain, the two men went over the

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river in it, to their comrades, leaving the spirited Mrs. Dwight with the horses. Then the wide and angry Coosa roared and lashed its shores, separating her from every friend she had upon earth.

In the course of that day and the next, the whole party were safely boated over. Proceeding some twenty miles farther, they approached the Creek town, called by the traders the "Hickory Ground," embraced in the southern suburbs of the present Wetumpka, on the east bank of the same river which they had crossed. It is impossible to imagine a more forlorn band, or one more agitated by hopes and fears. This was the first Indian town which they had had the boldness to approach, since they left Natchez, for, indeed, during the whole of their travels, they expected, every moment, to be tracked out, and all suddenly butchered. They now held a consultation, and it was decided to despatch three of their most plausible men, as ambassadors, to implore the compassion and hospitality of the inhabitants. With palpitating

1781 July

hearts, these men rode on, leaving their companions behind, to await the issue. As they rode up to the square, the squaws were hoeing their green corn, and the warriors reposed by the sides of their cabins. The reader has often seen the fierce mastiff, as he slumbered in the yard, or the tiger of a menagerie, as he dozed in his cage, arouse out of his sleep, erect his ears, move his tail, and throw his fiery eyes upon strangers, as they entered. He can then imagine the sudden and fierce looks which the lusty warriors bestowed upon these haggard, way-worn and miserable men. Colonel McGillivray,

unfortunately, was from home, for this place was one of his residences. The Indians scanned their saddles closely, and, as they were like those of the Georgians, they believed they were whigs. In vain they asserted that they were royalists, and good friends of the Creeks. About seventy of the savages formed a circle around them. In vain did they allege the defenceless state of themselves, their company behind, with their wretched women and children, their destitution of provisions, and the frank and friendly manner in which they had entered their town. The expedition appeared to be mysterious, the motives which led to it inexplicable, and the unfortunate saddles, upon which they rode, contradictory to all their professions. A vehement debate began among the Indians, of which only a few ill-boding words were understood, such as *Virginians! long knives! no good!* From all appearances, the fate of the wanderers was sealed. Instantly every warrior seized his knife, every face became distorted with wrath, every eye lighted up with fierce and gloomy vengeance.

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Colonel McGillivray had a body servant. He was a smart black fellow, named Paro, who understood the English language as well as he did the Indian tongue. He had been off on a journey, and, at this moment, rode up among the excited throng. He demanded the cause of the tumult. They replied that these strangers were Georgians, were bad men, no friends to them or to their father, the King of Great Britain, and ought to be put to death. The ambassadors now appealed to the negro, and gave him an account of the nature

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of their journey. He expressed himself fully satisfied, and endeavored to disabuse the minds of the savages. But they remained inflexible, when Paro called them fools and madmen. On account of their fear of McGillivray, they did not resent his offensive language, but assured him that the death of the strangers, and their friends behind, was resolved upon. A warrior, more moderate than the rest, said to the white men, "IF YOU TELL THE TRUTH, MAKE THE PAPER TALK." The ingenious Paro caught the idea, and asked the men if they had not kept a journal of their travels. They replied, No! He then asked if they had any paper about them, with writing on it, and said anything would do. One of them found

1781 July

an old letter in his pocket, which, according to the directions of Paro, he pretended to read, *slowly* and *solemnly*, giving a complete history of their flight from Natchez, and the cause of it. Paro, all the time, interpreted it to the Indians, with great animation. As the recital went on, their countenances gradually softened, and, before it was finished, the gloom gave way to a smile, and the ferocity was succeeded by friendship. The whole body put up their knives, and coming, one by one, to the ambassadors, shook them cordially by the hand, and welcomed them to the town. They presently brought in the whole caravan, lodged them in their houses, fed them at their tables, and "poured oil upon their wounds."

When this party of royalists had sufficiently recruited, they proceeded on their route, crossed the Tallapoosa, Chattahoochie and Flint, and then divided their company, and separated. One of the parties shaped their course down

towards East Florida, and finally reached Savannah in safety. The other party were taken prisoners by the whigs, but, shortly afterwards, were released. Strange to say, not one died, or was killed, upon the whole route from Natchez, which was accomplished in one hundred and forty-nine days. CHAPTER XVIII. 1781 August

Several of the Lymans, called the "unhappy family," were in this singular expedition. Two of the daughters of the late General Lyman died after reaching Savannah. Three of his sons were also in company. When the British evacuated Georgia, one of them went to New-York, another to Nova Scotia, and the third to Providence. They all died with broken hearts. Few have been born to higher hopes; few have begun life with a fairer promise of prosperity than their honorable father, and, for a time, no American possessed a more extensive reputation.*

Colonel Hutchens, with some of his friends, also fled from Fort Panmure to the swamps. Receiving information that the Indians were in pursuit of him, he set off, with twenty men, upon horses, intending to overtake the larger party, whose peregrinations we have just described. They left their families and most valuable effects. Hutchens abandoned an excellent plantation, with twenty workers upon it, an im- 1781

* Travels in New-York and New-England, by Theodore Dwight, S.T.D., LL.D., late President of Yale College, vol. 1, pp. 306–316. Memoirs and Adventures of Phelps, Appendix, pp. 2–17. I also held conversations with several old Indian-traders, of the Creek nation, two of whom, when youths, were at the Hickory Ground when these retreating royalists arrived there.

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mense body of land, and seventeen hundred head of cattle. The Spaniards confiscated the whole of it, except a bare support for his wife. On the second night of their flight, the Choctaws overtook them, and killed all of them but Hutchens and one other man, who fled towards Georgia, and arrived there naked, sunburnt, starved, and worn down with fatigue. John Alston, and another small party, escaping to the Creek nation, were there arrested by the Indians, carried to Mobile, and from thence to New-Orleans, where, after being tried for
1781 rebellion, they were condemned to die. But the governor pardoned them. During the fall of 1781, the property of all these unfortunate people was confiscated.*

In the meantime, the wild region upon the Cumberland river was explored, and some temporary establishments formed at the bluff, on which is now situated the city of
1779 Nashville. Captain James Robertson was the hero of these bold adventures, and had several times, with a small party of men, cut his way from extreme East Tennessee to that country, passing over the lofty Cumberland mountains and through dangerous Indian settlements. Returning to the Holston, after having made several of these trips, he raised a large company of emigrants, and built boats at Long Island. When they were nearly ready to be launched, he placed himself at the head of a horse-party, and set out, over the mountains, for the Cumberland, intending to leave signs upon the trees, at the head of the Muscle Shoals, after going from Nashville

* Phelps' Memoirs, Appendix, pp. 17–19.

to that place. These signs he intended for the purpose of letting the voyagers know whether it would be practicable for them to disembark at the Muscle Shoals, and go to the Cumberland by land. CHAPTER XVIII.

1779 December 22

A large number of flat boats, filled with emigrants and their effects, began the voyage from Long Island, upon the Holston. Those recollected will be mentioned, for the gratification of descendants. The large Donaldson family, who, after reaching the Cumberland, settled upon Stone's river, and became connected, by affinity, with General Andrew Jackson, all embarked on this occasion. Among the others, were Robert Cartwright, Benjamin Porter, Mary Henry, Mary Purnell, James Cain, Isaac Neely, John Cotton, —— Rounsever, Jonathan Jennings, William Cutchfield, Moses, Joseph and James Renfroe, Solomon Turpin, —— Johns, Francis Armstrong, Isaac Lanier, Daniel Dunham, John Boyd, John Montgomery, John Cockrill, Mrs. Robertson, the wife of Captain Robertson, John Blackman and John Gibson. These persons had families with them, besides slaves. 1779

In consequence of great difficulty in descending the Holston, and many unavoidable delays, the rude fleet did not reach the mouth of the French Broad until March 2d. 1780 It was then the habit to tie up at sunset, encamp upon the banks, and around large fires, and to make the wild forests resound with noise and merry peals of laughter. All were now happy, and filled with the most pleasing excitement. But when they approached the Cherokee towns below, they observed great caution. When near Nickajack, they were

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fired upon, from both banks of the river, by the savages; but, keeping in the middle, received no material injury. However, unfortunately, a boat belonging to Stewart, containing his family and negroes, amounting to twenty-eight souls, who had been compelled to keep behind a few miles,

1780

on account of the small-pox, which they had taken, were all killed by the Indians, while their companions, in advance, could afford them no assistance. In passing the celebrated "Suck," the boats were again fired upon, when several of the voyagers were severely wounded. In the midst of the dismay and confusion, a young woman, named Nancy Glover, seized the oar of her father's boat, and steered it safely through the narrows, exposed to all the firing, and receiving a severe wound, of which she never complained. When the terrified voyagers had passed this place, they entered a wide and smooth sheet of water, and were out of danger. But, just at the termination of the narrows, the boat of Jonathan Jennings was stove upon a large rock. The voyagers were forced to leave these unhappy people. The Indians coming upon them, all the effects were thrown out of the boat in great haste, and it was shoved off, with Mrs. Jennings and Mrs. Peyton in it, who singularly made their escape. The Indians captured Jennings, his son, a negro and a young man with them, and carried them to Chickamauga, where they soon burned the latter to death, by a slow fire. They knocked Jennings down with a club; but his life was spared by Rodgers, a trader, who ransomed him. After being again attacked, near the head of the Muscle Shoals, they finally

reached those cataracts, where a consultation was held. Being unable, upon a diligent search, to find the signals of Captain Robertson on the north bank, they resolved to trust their boats to the angry waves below. Fortunately, the swollen state of the river carried them safely over the extended shoals. Reaching the mouth of the Tennessee, on the 20th of March, an affecting and painful separation took place—Colonel Donaldson and more than half of the voyagers going up the Cumberland, and the remainder to Natchez and the Illinois.*

* Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 85–94. Mrs. Rachel Jackson, the wife of General Jackson, and the daughter of Colonel Donaldson, who was then but a little girl, was with this party.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE SPANIARDS IN ALABAMA AND MISSISSIPPI.

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ENGLAND, having lost her West Florida provinces by the victories of Galvez, and having the American whigs, as well as the natives of France, Spain and Holland, arrayed against her, was finally forced to retire from the unequal contest.

1782 November 30 A preliminary treaty of peace was signed, at Paris. England there acknowledged our independence, and admitted our southern boundary to be as follows: A line beginning at the Mississippi, at 31° north of the equator, and extending due east, to the Chattahoochie river; down that river to the mouth of the Flint, and thence to the St. Mary's, and along that river, to the sea. Great Britain also expressly stipulated, in that treaty, our right to the navigation of the Mississippi river, from its mouth to its source.

1783 January 20 Great Britain and Spain entered into a treaty. The former warranted and confirmed to the latter the province of West Florida, and ceded to her East Florida.*

But although England, by the treaty of 1782, assigned to

* American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. 10, p. 132.

the United States all the territory between the Mississippi and the Chattahoochie, lying between the parallels of latitude 31° and 32° 28′, embracing the same portion of the territory of Alabama and Mississippi, which lay in the British province of West Florida, yet it was not surrendered to us, by Spain, for years afterwards. Spain occupied it, contending that Great Britain, in the treaty with her, in 1783, warranted the province of West Florida to her, not defining its northern limits, and that England had no right to restrict her limits, even if she had attempted it, for Spain had, before the negotiations commenced, acquired all of West Florida, by conquest, through the victorious arms of Don Galvez. CHAPTER XIX.

Turning to Georgia, with which this history will now be much connected, we find that that province continued to consist, as at the time of its colonization by Oglethorpe, of a narrow strip of country, between the Savannah and Ogechee rivers, until 1773, when, as we have already seen, Governor Wright acquired from the Creeks and Cherokees a strip of country north of this, extending above Broad river. The Legislature of Georgia elected commissioners, who met a delegation of Cherokees at Augusta. The latter ceded to Georgia the country upon the western side of the Tugalo, including the head waters of the Oconee. A small delegation of the Creeks also assembled at Augusta, and agreed to the boundary made with the Cherokees. Thus, as Georgia supposed, the lines between her and those tribes were, for a while, determined. But the treaty made with the Creeks was denounced by a large majority of that nation, as ob- 1783 May 31 November 1

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tained unfairly, and with the representation of scarcely any of the towns.*

But, before entering upon these exciting topics, it will be necessary to recur once more to the close of the war. It has been observed, that Lachlan McGillivray, previous to the revolution, owned extensive trading-houses in Savannah and Augusta, and plantations upon the river. He was an active and influential royalist, and the whigs of Georgia and Carolina sensibly felt his weight. When the British were forced to evacuate Savannah, he sailed with them to his native country, having scraped together a vast amount of money and movable effects. His plantations and negroes he abandoned, in the hope that his son, Alexander, his two daughters, and his Indian wife, Sehoy, then living upon the Coosa, might be suffered to inherit them. But the whigs confiscated the whole of this valuable property, with the exception of a few negroes, who fled to the nation, and were added to those already at the residence of Sehoy. Thus, Col. Alexander McGillivray was deprived of a large patrimony, while his affectionate father was forced to flee the country. Another Scotchman, remarkable for his great commercial enterprise and capital sense, must also be introduced.

William Panton was born in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, and, at an early period, sailed for America, and landed in Charleston. He became an extensive Indian merchant, and owned large estates, in South-Carolina and Georgia; but, at an early

* American State Papers, Indian Affairs, folio edition, vol. 1, p. 23.

period of the war, was driven from these provinces, and his estates confiscated. He then established himself upon the St. Mary's. In 1781, when the Spaniards took Pensacola, he was residing there, owning an extensive trading-house. He soon formed a commercial treaty with Spain, which enabled him to become enriched, while the government of Florida was strengthened by his influence with the Indian tribes south of the Tennessee. He had formed an acquaintance with Colonel McGillivray, and was struck with the power of his mind. Knowing that he had been deserted by the British, he sought to place him under the wing of Spain, for the personal advancement of the great Chieftain himself, who he expected would, in return, promote his Indian commerce. He introduced him to the Spanish authorities of West Florida. According to arrangement, Colonel McGillivray went to Pensacola, and entered into a treaty of alliance with Spain. Spain was represented by Don Miro, of New-Orleans, Governor of West Florida, Don Arthur O'Neill, Commandant of Pensacola, and Don Martin Navarro, Intendant-General of Florida. Colonel McGillivray represented the whole Creek and Seminole nations. It was stipulated, that the Creek and Seminole Indians should defend and sustain the cause of his Catholic Majesty, and obey his orders, through his Captain-General of the provinces of the Floridas and Louisiana, in those points which are compatible with Indian character; that Spain should proportion among the Indians a desirable and permanent commerce, at the most judicious places; that the Creeks should establish a general peace with the Chicka-

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saws, Choctaws and Cherokees; that all strangers, introducing themselves among the Indians, for the purpose of stirring up rebellion against the King of Spain, should immediately be

1784 seized, and conveyed to the Governor of Pensacola; that the Indians should admit no white person into their country, who did not bear a Spanish permit; that they should abandon the practice of taking scalps, if engaged in war; that they should deliver up all white prisoners, subjects of the United States, and not admit into their nations fugitive slaves, from the provinces of Louisiana and Florida, but should apprehend and deliver them to the commandants.*

Colonel McGillivray was induced to form an alliance with the Spaniards, for various reasons, the chief of which were, that the whigs, as he contended, had confiscated his estates, banished his father, threatened him with death and his nation with extermination, and were constantly encroaching upon Creek soil. The Spaniards wanted no lands—desired only his friendship, and had not encroached upon him or his people. Besides, they were the first to offer him promotion and commercial advantages. When he had signed the treaty, they made him a Spanish commissary, with the rank and pay of colonel.

Great dissatisfaction arose, as has been stated, in consequence of the treaty at Augusta, and the occupation of the

1785 Creek lands. Border war commenced. The Spanish authorities fomented these discords between the Creeks and Geor-

* American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. 10, pp. 223–227.

gians, for the purpose of monopolizing the entire commerce of the nation. Colonel McGillivray exerted himself to defeat all attempts at peaceable negotiation, now undertaken by those who had charge of our national affairs. CHAPTER XIX.

The Provisional Congress appointed Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, Joseph Martin and Lachlan McIntosh, commissioners, to treat with the Southern Indians. Pickens addressed a letter to Colonel McGillivray, urging him to meet them at a convenient place, at the head of all the Chiefs of the nation, to enter into treaties of friendship. The Alabama Talleyrand replied, and we will publish his able and ingenious letter, as the reader can better understand from it the character of the man, and of the times of which he writes, than by a narration from the author. 1785

"LITTLE TALLASE,* 5th Sept., 1785.

"*Sir*:—I am favored with your letter by Brandon, who, after detaining it near a month, sent it by an Indian, a few days ago. He, perhaps, had some reasons for keeping himself from this region.

"The notification you have sent us is agreeable to our wishes, as the meeting is intended for the desirable purpose

* Little Tallase, four miles above Wetumpka, on the east bank of the Coosa, was one of the residences of Colonel McGillivray, and from that point he wrote most of his able letters. Colonel Howell Rose now owns the site of Little Tallase, which is embraced in a cotton plantation.

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of adjusting and settling matters, on an equitable footing, between the United States and the Indian nations. At the same time, I cannot avoid expressing my surprise that a measure of this nature should have been so long delayed, on your part. When we found that the American independence

1785 September 5

was confirmed by the peace, we expected that the new government would soon have taken some steps to make up the differences that subsisted between them and the Indians during the war, to have taken them under their protection, and confirmed to them their hunting-grounds. Such a course would have reconciled the minds of the Indians, and secured the States their friendship, as they considered your people their natural allies. The Georgians, whose particular interest it was to conciliate the friendship of this nation, have acted, in all respects, to the contrary. I am sorry to observe that violence and prejudice have taken place of good policy and reason, in all their proceedings with us. They attempted to avail themselves of our supposed distressed situation. Their talks to us breathed nothing but vengeance, and, being entirely possessed with the idea that we were wholly at their mercy, they never once reflected that colonies of a powerful monarch were nearly surrounding us, to whom, in any extremity, we might apply for succor and protection, and who, to answer some ends of their policy, might grant it to us. However, we yet deferred any such proceeding, still expecting we could bring them to a true sense of their interest; but still finding no alteration in their conduct towards us, we sought the protection of Spain, and treaties of friendship and

alliance were mutually entered into—they guaranteeing our hunting-grounds and territory, and granting us a free trade in the ports of the Floridas. CHAPTER XIX.

"How the boundary and limits between the Spaniards and the States will be determined, a little time will show, as I believe that matter is now on foot. However, we know our limits, and the extent of our hunting-grounds. As a free nation, we have applied, as we had a right to do, for protection, and obtained it. We shall pay no attention to any limits that may prejudice our claims, that were drawn by an American, and confirmed by a British negotiator. Yet, notwithstanding we have been obliged to adopt these measures for our preservation, and from real necessity, we sincerely wish to have it in our power to be on the same footing with the States as before the late unhappy war, to effect which is entirely in your power. We want nothing from you but justice. We want our hunting-grounds preserved from encroachments. They have been ours from the beginning of time, and I trust that, with the assistance of our friends, we shall be able to maintain them against every attempt that may be made to take them from us. 1785 September 5

"Finding our representations to the State of Georgia of no effect, in restraining their encroachments, we thought it proper to call a meeting of the nation, on the subject. We then came to the resolution to send out parties, to remove the Georgians and their effects from the lands in question, in the most peaceable manner possible.

"Agreeably to your requisition, and to convince you of

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my sincere desire to restore a good understanding between us, I have taken the necessary steps to prevent any future predatory excursions of my people against any of your settlements. I could wish the people of Cumberland showed an equal good disposition to do what is right. They were certainly the first aggressors since the peace, and acknowledged it in a written certificate, left at the Indian camp they had plundered.

1785 September 5

"I have only to add, that we shall meet the commissioners of Congress whenever we shall receive notice, in expectation that every matter of difference will be settled, with that liberality and justice worthy the men who have so gloriously asserted the cause of liberty and independence, and that we shall, in future, consider them as brethren, and defenders of the land.*

I am, with much respect, sir,

Your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER McGILLIVRAY.

HON ANDREW PICKENS."

This well-written communication affords the first evidence of the consummate diplomacy of this great native Alabamian. The history of this remarkable Indian will be found to be full of interest.

1785 October 28

The commissioners of Congress, elated by the conciliatory tone of Colonel McGillivray, arrived at Galphinton.† The

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 17–18.

† This town was named in honor of George Galphin, the great Indian trader.

latter failed to appear, and only the Chiefs from two towns, with sixty warriors, met them. Disappointed and mortified, the commissioners declined to treat with so few. In the meantime, the Georgia commissioners protested against those proceedings which the agents of Congress had intended to adopt; but the latter declined to do anything further than to explain to the Indians the policy which the Congress intended to pursue towards them, thanked them for their attendance, and afterwards departed. No sooner had they left, than the commissioners representing Georgia made a treaty with the Creeks who were present, which confirmed the treaty of Augusta, of 1783, and granted to the State of Georgia the territory lying on the east side of a line, to run from the junction of the Oconee and Ockmulgee to the St. Mary's river, including all the islands and harbors, and which now constitutes more than half the coast of Georgia. What considerations induced the Indians to divest themselves of so much territory is not stated. The commissioners of Georgia laid before the legislature a copy of the articles intended to have been proposed to the Creeks by the agents of Congress, had a sufficient number been present, which that body declared, by resolutions, to be subversive of the rights of the State. They instructed their members in Congress to insist on the abolition of the powers of the commissioners, while they adopted measures for the preservation of the rights of the citizens of Georgia. Edward Telfair, John King and Thomas Glascock, received the thanks of the General Assem- 1783

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bly, for their vigilance and patriotism, and particularly for the treaty which they had made.

1785 December

The Georgia Legislature established a county called Houston, embracing the territory extending from Nickajack, below the Muscle Shoals, out of which are now formed the modern Alabama counties of Lauderdale, Limestone, Madison and Jackson. Sevier, Downs, Herd, Donaldson and Linsey, were appointed commissioners, to organize the county of Houston. With eighty men, in flat-boats, they arrived at the Muscle Shoals, and, in the western part of the present Lauderdale county, established a land office, appointed military officers and magistrates, and elected Valentine Sevier to be a member of the Georgia Legislature. This remarkable government existed but two weeks, when the colonists were driven off by the Indians.*

Congress appointed James White a Superintendent of the Creek Indians, who immediately proceeded to the town of Cusseta, upon the Chattahoochie. He addressed a letter to Colonel McGillivray, and received the following reply:

"LITTLE TALLASE, 8th April, 1787.

"*Sir*:—It is with real satisfaction that I learn of your being appointed by Congress, for the laudable purpose of inquiring into and settling the differences that at present subsist between our nation and the Georgians. It may be necessary

* Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 157–158.

1787 April 8

for you to know the cause of these differences, and our discontents, which, perhaps, have never come to the knowledge of the honorable body that sent you to our country.

"There are Chiefs of two towns in this nation, who, during the late war, were friendly to the State of Georgia, and had gone, at different times, among those people, and once, after the general peace, to Augusta. They there demanded of them a grant of lands, belonging to and enjoyed as hunting-grounds by the Indians of this nation, in common, on the east of the Oconee river. The Chiefs rejected the demand, on the plea that these lands were the hunting-grounds of the nation, and could not be granted by two individuals; but, after a few days, a promise was extorted from them, that, on their return to our country, they would use their influence to get a grant confirmed. Upon their return, a general convention was held at Tookabatcha, when these two Chiefs were severely censured, and the Chiefs of ninety-eight towns agreed upon a talk, to be sent to Savannah, disapproving, in the strongest manner, of the demand made upon their nation, and denying the right of any two of their country to make cession of land, which could only be valid by the unanimous voice of the whole, as joint proprietors in common. Yet these two Chiefs, regardless of the voice of the nation, continued to go to Augusta, and other places within that State. They received presents and made promises; but our customs did not permit us to punish them for the crime. We warned the Georgians of the dangerous consequences that would certainly attend the settling of the lands in question. Our

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just remonstrances were treated with contempt, and these lands were soon filled with settlers. The nation, justly alarmed at the encroachments, resolved to use force to maintain their rights; yet, being averse to the shedding of the blood of a people whom we would rather consider as friends, we made another effort to awaken in them a sense of justice and equity. But we found, from experience, that entreaty could not prevail, and parties of warriors were sent, to drive off the intruders, but were instructed to shed blood, only, where self-preservation made it necessary.

"This was in May, 1786. In October following, we were invited by commissioners, of the State of Georgia, to meet them in conference, at the Oconee, professing a sincere desire for an amicable adjustment of our disputes, and pledging their sacred honors for the safety and good treatment of all those that should attend and meet them. It not being convenient for many of us to go to the proposed conference, a few, from motives of curiosity, attended. They were surprised to find an armed body of men, prepared for and professing hostile intentions. Apprehensions for personal safety induced those Chiefs to subscribe to every demand that was asked by the army and its commissioners. Lands were again demanded, and the lives of some of our Chiefs were required, as well as those of some innocent traders, as a sacrifice, to appease their anger. Assassins have been employed to effect some part of their atrocious purposes. If I fall by the hand of such, I shall fall the victim of the noblest of causes, that of maintaining the just rights of my country. I aspire to

1787 April 8

the honest ambition of meriting the appellation of the preserver of my country, equally with the Chiefs among *you*, whom, from acting on such principles, you have exalted to the highest pitch of glory. And if, after every peaceable mode of obtaining a redress of grievances proved fruitless, a recourse to arms to obtain it be a mark of the savage, and not of the soldier, what savages must the Americans be, and how much undeserved applause have your Cincinnatus, your Fabius, obtained. If a war name had been necessary to distinguish that Chief, in such a case, the Man-Killer, the Great Destroyer, would have been the proper appellation. CHAPTER XIX. 1787 April 8

"I had appointed the Cussetas, for all the Chiefs of the Lower Creeks to meet in convention. I shall be down in a few days, when, from your timely arrival, you will meet the Chiefs, and learn their sentiments, and I sincerely hope that the propositions which you shall offer us will be such as we can safely accede to. The talks of the former commissioners, at Galphinton, were much approved of, and your coming from the White Town (seat of Congress) has raised great expectations that you will remove the principal and almost only cause of our dispute, that is, by securing to us our hunting-grounds and possessions, free from all encroachments. When we meet, we shall talk these matters over.

Meantime, I remain,

With regard, your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER McGILLIVRAY.

HON. JAMES WHITE."

Dr. White met McGillivray at Cusseta, with a large num-

CHAPTER XIX. 1787 April 10

ber of Lower Creeks, when the Superintendent desired them to ratify the treaties of Augusta, Galphinton and Shoulder-bone, and to make arrangements for running the boundary line around the ceded territory. The Chiefs boldly opposed the proposition, and declared that their "lands were their life and breath, and if they parted with them they parted with their blood." The two Chiefs, who conveyed away these lands, being severely censured, stated that the Georgians compelled them to make the grant, by threats and the flourish of long knives.

McGillivray startled the Superintendent with a new proposition. He said: "Notwithstanding I prompt the Indians to defend their lands, I look upon the United States as our most natural ally. Two years I waited, before I would seek the alliance I have formed. I was compelled to it. I could not but resent the greedy encroachments of the Georgians, to say nothing of their scandalous and illiberal abuse. But I will now put it to the test, whether they or myself entertain the most generous sentiments of respect for Congress. If that honorable body can form a government to the southward of the Altamaha, I will be the first to take the oath of allegiance, and, in return to the Georgians, for yielding to the United States that claim, I will obtain a regular and peaceable grant of the lands on the Oconee, on which they have deluded people to settle, under the pretence of grants from the Indians, and which you, yourself, (Dr. White,) have seen are most ill-founded. I will give you till the first of August for an answer."

CHAPTER XIX. 1787 April 10

Thus terminated the council, and the Superintendent found himself baffled and perplexed by the ingenuity of McGillivray, who always managed to defeat any scheme of the Federal Government.

The Georgians, on the other hand, denied the charges of violence and fraud, contended that a sufficient delegation of Indians were present to make the grants, and that they were procured from them fairly and honorably, without threats or the display of knives. They contended that the Upper Creeks, who never occupied the Oconee lands, had no right to have a voice in the matter. They admitted that, at the treaty of Shoulderbone, in 1786, they had armed troops present; but they were there for the purpose of suppressing hostilities, should they show themselves. They also admitted that, for enforcing a compliance of the treaty, they carried hostages to Augusta, which had been customary in all former negotiations with savages.*

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 18–23.

CHAPTER XX.

BLOODY SCENES IN ALABAMA AND GEORGIA.

CHAPTER XX. 1779 1780

At this period, some exciting scenes occurred in the region now known as North Alabama. We have already followed a party of emigrants to the Cumberland. Many others flocked to that country, and it soon became well settled, for a wild country. The Upper Creeks and Cherokees continually made war upon these Cumberland people. The French, upon the Wabash, had, for a long time, carried on a commerce, near the sites of the present towns of Tuscumbia and Florence. So long as M. Viez was at the head of this trade, the Cumberland people were not harassed; but, recently, he had been succeeded by others, who supplied the Indians with arms, and encouraged them to attack the American settlements. The latter had only acted upon the defensive, but it was now determined to advance upon the frontier towns of

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the Indians. One hundred and thirty men assembled, from different parts of the Cumberland region, and marched, under Colonel James Robertson, to the Tennessee river, piloted by two Chickasaws. David Hays was despatched from Nashville with boats, laden with provisions, destined for the Muscle Shoals. Descending the Cumberland, he was

furiously attacked by the Indians, at the mouth of Duck river, and, after some of his men had been killed, and others wounded, he returned to Nashville with his boats. Owing to this, the horsemen were without food during the greater part of the expedition. CHAPTER XX.

Striking the Tennessee at a point very near the present town of Florence, Colonel Robertson concealed his men. A well-beaten path was discovered, leading down the banks, and on the south side of the river stood some cabins, in view. Seven men were placed in the canes, to observe the movements of the Indians. A canoe was seen to move to an island, filled with natives, who there plunged into the river and engaged in bathing. They then returned to the south bank, evidently watching for the Americans, of whose approach they had gained some vague intelligence. Captain Rains had set out up the river, with fifteen men, with orders to capture an Indian alive; but, after marching to the mouth of Blue Water, he returned, without having made any discovery. When the shadows of twilight began to darken the wilderness, the troops assembled, in the most noiseless manner, upon the low grounds. The seven men, who had watched all day, plunged into the mighty river early in the night, and swam to the opposite shore, where they discovered that the cabins were unoccupied. Finding a tremendous canoe, with a hole in the bottom of it, they brought it over to the north bank. Stopping the leak with their shirts, Colonel Robertson placed in it all the fire-arms, and forty men; but they soon paddled back, in a sinking condition. The party made no 1787 June

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further attempt to cross, until daylight; then fifty men, with the arms and ammunition, went over in the boat, which had now been rendered sea-worthy, by a piece of linn-bark. The rest of the party swam their horses over. A heavy rain coming on, as soon as they reached the southern shore, they took shelter in the cabins. When the clouds had dispersed, they came forth, and began the march upon a plain path, leading westwardly. At about the distance of five miles, they reached corn-fields, and, further on, they came to Cold Water Creek, the same which runs by the modern Tuscumbia. The larger portion of the command immediately crossed over, and entered upon the low grounds, among a number of cabins, distant from the river about three hundred yards. The people of the town ran down to their boats. Some, in endeavoring to escape, crossed over the creek, to the east side, where they were shot down by Captain Rains and a few men stationed there to intercept them. Colonel Robertson charged to the river, and his troops committed havoc on all sides. They killed many of the Indians, who got into the boats, and others who had plunged into the stream. Three French traders, and a white woman, who would not surrender, fled to a boat, and entered it, along with twenty-six Indians. The Americans, with one volley, killed them all. The chief French trader, and six others, were captured. In this town were stores of taffai, and all kinds of Indian merchandize, arms and ammunition. Colonel Robertson brought all the boats up the creek, had a strong guard placed over them, and then burned the town, killing the fowls and hogs.

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Next morning, giving to Toka, the Chickasaw guide, and his companion—who presently set out for their nation—a liberal supply of merchandize and arms, Colonel Robertson buried the whites, loaded several of the boats with goods, and placed them in charge of three men, who departed down the river, with the French prisoners. Robertson marched by land, and, near Colbert's Ferry, overtook the boats, and they all encamped there together. To their great joy, they found that not a soul had received a wound. In the morning, the French prisoners, with a squaw, were permitted to depart in one of the boats. They were liberally supplied with provisions, and their trunks of clothing were given up to them. The sugar and coffee, taken at the town, were articles of great luxury in those days, and were now equally divided among the troops. Robertson marched across the country to the Cumberland, and thus terminated a fatiguing expedition, of nineteen days. The boats, with the merchandize, proceeded down the Tennessee river, in charge of Denton and others. On their way, they met a party of French traders, destined for the town which they had destroyed, who, in their enthusiasm, fired off their guns, in a fit of joy, supposing the voyagers were also traders of their people. The Americans took advantage of the discharge, and, before they could re-load, captured the whole party, with all their goods. Arriving in the Cumberland settlements, the merchandize was sold at Eaton's Station, and the proceeds divided among the troops.

This expedition produced a short respite from Indian attacks. The savages, however, rallied, and began a warfare

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fiercer than ever. At length, in the fall, Captain Shannon, with a mounted party, pursued some Creeks from the Cumberland to the northern bank of the Tennessee, in the present county of Lauderdale, and engaged in a severe fight with Black Foot and his clan. Victory at length declared for the daring Cumberlanders. The Chief was killed, with a number of his warriors. During this fall, the settlers engaged in numerous military excursions, upon Duck and Elk rivers, in pursuit of Indians, who were retreating from fresh scenes of pillage and blood. The magnificent forests of North Alabama were scoured, in all directions, by these intrepid Americans.*

At the same time, the Creeks were active upon the Georgia frontier. Enraged at the settlement of the Oconee lands, they reduced to ashes the new town of Greensboro', together with the court-house, killed many of the inhabitants, on various portions of the frontier, and carried to the nation white captives, negroes, and all sorts of plunder.† Georgia urged the Congress to punish these depredators, by sending against them an army; but the national agents were reluctant to enter into another war. However, Secretary Knox did plan upon paper a Southern army, which was not raised, while the Georgians were left to defend themselves, to the best of their ability.

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Congress, again seeking to interpose by a treaty, appointed

* Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 217–225.

† Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 23–24.

Richard Winn, Indian Superintendent, with whom was associated George Mathews, on the part of Georgia, and Andrew Pickens, on the part of South-Carolina. They opened a negotiation with Colonel McGillivray, but he refused to meet them, unless they first removed the Georgians from the Oconee lands, within the bounds of the old British government. Hostilities, of course, continued, for it was now impossible to comply with the bold demands of McGillivray, who stood upon an enviable and independent footing. Caressed by Panton, with whom he was a co-partner in an extensive commerce, paid by the Spanish government, obeyed by his own people, and many of the Cherokees and Choctaws, and supplicated by the American Congress, the Chieftain could well afford to dictate arbitrary terms, and continue to advance against the Georgians with hundreds of his prowling warriors. CHAPTER XX. 1788

At length, Governor Thomas Pinckney, of South-Carolina, entered into a correspondence with McGillivray, to endeavor to bring about a peace and the settlement of the boundary, and elicited from him several letters. A portion of one of them runs as follows:

* * * "The third invitation which was sent to us to treat, was from the Georgians only, through their commissioners, at the head of whom was Mr. Habersham, President of the Executive Council, and he proposed the Oconee as the place of meeting. They pledged their sacred honors for the safety and welfare of every Indian that should attend; but I, being so often threatened, and having the worst opinion of the back people, as they are called, did not go, but sent a

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few Coweta warriors, to report to me on their return. During the conferences of the Oconee, an additional cession was demanded, which was strongly opposed by the Cowetas and others, for which they were violently insulted by a Colonel Clarke, which the commissioners could not prevent. Though their sacred honors were pledged for maintaining good order, several warriors, of different towns, were forcibly seized upon by armed men, and conveyed to Augusta, more as prisoners than hostages, to be kept as a pledge that my life, and six more of the leading men, should be taken. Such conduct convinced the whole nation that it was full time to adopt measures for the general safety."*

About this time, a bloody transaction occurred in the territory of the present county of Conecuh. During the revolutionary war, Colonel McGillivray formed an acquaintance with many conspicuous royalists, and, among others, with Colonel Kirkland, of South-Carolina. That person was at McGillivray's house, upon the Coosa, in 1788, with his son, his nephew, and several other gentlemen. They were
1788 on their way to Pensacola, where they intended to procure passports, and settle in the Spanish province of Louisiana. When they determined to leave his hospitable abode, McGillivray sent his servant to guide them to Pensacola. The presence of this servant would assure the Indians that they were friends, for it was dangerous to travel without the Chieftain's protection. Colonel Kirkland and his party had much

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 19–20.

silver in their saddle-bags. Arriving within a mile of a large creek, which flows into the Conecuh, they met a pack-horse party, about sun-set, going up to the nation. They had been to Pensacola, on a trading expedition. This party consisted of a Hillabee Indian, who had murdered so many men, that he was called Istillicha, the *Man-slayer*—a desperate white man, who had fled from the States for the crime of murder, and whom, on account of his activity and ferocity, the Indians called the *Cat*—and a blood-thirsty negro, named Bob, the property of Sullivan, a Creek trader of the Hillabees. As soon as Colonel Kirkland and his party were out of sight, these scoundrels formed an encampment. The former went on, crossed the creek, and encamped a short distance from the ford, by the side of the trading-path. Placing their saddle-bags under their heads, and reclining their guns against a tree, Kirkland and his party fell asleep. At midnight, the bloody wretches from the other side, cautiously came over, and, seizing the guns of Kirkland and his men, killed every one of them, except three negroes, one of whom was the servant of the great Chieftain, as before stated. Dividing the booty, the murderers proceeded to the Creek nation, and, when the horrid affair became known, Colonel McGillivray sent persons in pursuit of them. Cat was arrested; but the others escaped. Milfort was directed to convey the scoundrel to the spot where he had shed the blood of these men, and there to hang him, until he was dead. Upon the journey to that point, Milfort kept him well pinioned, and, every night, secured his legs in temporary stocks, made by cutting notches

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CHAPTER XX. in pine logs, and clamping them together. Reaching the creek where poor Kirkland and his men were murdered, Cat was suspended to the limb of a tree, the roots of which were still stained with the blood of the unfortunate colonel and his companions. While he was dangling in the air, and 1788 kicking in the last agonies, the Frenchman stopped his motions with a pistol ball. Such is the origin of the name "MURDER CREEK."*

* Conversations with Lachlan Durant, and two old traders, named Abram Mordecai and James Moore.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE DEEP INTRIGUES OF McGILLIVRAY.

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Occasionally, the Spanish authorities at Pensacola and Mobile were guilty of consummate folly, in imposing restrictions upon the Creeks, which frequently offended them, creating a prejudice, which it required the compromising spirit of Panton and the authority and ingenuity of McGillivray to remove. We will here introduce a letter of the Chief, in relation to the Spanish outrages. It was written to Panton, and dated at little Tallase.

"I had written to you, during the great hubbub at Pensacola, by Frank Leslie. I gave, then, a sketch of my idea of the times. The sudden flight of Curnells and Walker ought not to surprise you. The cowardice of the former is proverbial, and Walker fled, being my servant. When Linder and the others were taken up, a little Irishman, living at Tensaw, was in Pensacola. He became frightened, ran out to Walker, and informed him that the governor, in very severe terms, threatened to seize him, understanding that he was recruiting men for my service. Upon which, says Curnells, 'I am his interpreter, therefore my chance to escape is small.' The

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idea of the mines operated so strongly upon their imaginations, that they precipitately fled. This custom, of taking up traders ignorant of the language, laws and customs of Spain, upon frivolous reports, if persevered in, will have effects of the most pernicious tendency. * * * You were lucky that the American stores were broken up by us, upon the Altamaha; or else, after paying you some part of their skins, the whole of the Lower Creeks and part of the Upper Towns would have, in future, gone to them for supplies, so greatly have the traders been alarmed by the late proceedings at Pensacola. If our friends, the Spaniards, knew how very delicate it was to awaken the suspicions and fears of my people, by harsh measures, they would use none in future. All the traders that have already gone to you, I was positively obliged to *drive down*, or you would not have seen one, for they would rather have gone to St. Marks or St. Johns. I hope all this is now subsided in Pensacola, for I am ashamed and sorry for it. I can see no reason for all this bustle. If the Grand Turk, or any other power, chooses to make me a present, provided they are not at war with Spain, they cannot be reasonably offended with me for accepting it. We are a free people, and mean to continue so. * * * Your letter of the 2d runs in the same strain of advice as your others, advising and exhorting me to be guarded in treating with the

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Americans, and to reserve our trade wholly to Spain. Governor Miro has instructed me to the same purpose, and which I am fully resolved to do, that is, if I have power to offer and insist upon any stipulations, and so I have answered his Ex-

cellency. But I was apprehensive that our late royal orders, (concerning our treaty with the Americans,) now strictly operating, would embarrass our affairs, if not altogether frustrate our intentions, regarding trade: because, if I comprehend the order right, it is that I must treat of peace, and measures which I have found fault with, to enforce it. It must be, of course, allowed that every power to insist upon an article of that kind, or, indeed, any other, is wholly taken from me—for experience has proved that such matters are only to be attained by the longest fire and point of sword, particularly with the Americans. So, as our affairs now stand, I cannot see a chance of our resisting any conditions which they may choose to dictate to us, and we all can foresee these will be no means favorable to our present condition. .In the meantime, I have thrown some obstacles in the way of the present treaty, and have written to Governor Miro, stating these matters in a strong point of view, which he mentions he has referred to the Captain-General Esplelata, of Havana. The letter is dated 28th August, and sent by one Nolen, a genteel young Irishman, whom the governor desired me to forward to Cumberland, with some propositions towards a commercial treaty.

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"The present interregnum in the American government, and the commissioners putting off the treaty until the next spring, will afford us all time to look around us. Whitefield's letter will show you the dispositions of the Georgians. The United States commissioners wanted the Assembly to co-operate, in a treaty of peace, and the House

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would not assemble. The Georgians proclaimed a truce of arms with us, on the 31st July. A Coweta Indian gave me, lately, a wretched, dirty and scandalous scrawl, on foul paper, which he found on a tree, near Flint river. It proved to be a threatening talk to me and my savage subjects; that we (the Creeks) should have no establishment of peace until they (the Georgians) shall have full satisfaction of all their desires, etc. Signed, James Alexander, the 15th August. The chap that signs is Colonel Alexander, who murdered the Cussetas. He and Clarke sway Upper Georgia.

"The impolicy of certain late measures, in tieing us up, is evident. If we could have followed up our blows, those fellows, ere this time, would have been effectually humbled; but we have all our work to do over again.

"I observe, with much satisfaction, that the Governor and Intendant of New-Orleans have relinquished their claim, of one-fourth of the profits of your trade. Such a procedure is extremely generous, and, as for my part, I now repeat to you what I told you more than twelve months ago, when we were talking upon the subject of the trade. I then observed that my nation was much benefited by the honorable and liberal manner in which you supplied them with goods; that, as my attention was wholly occupied about my people, it could not be in my power to be of any essential service to your business: therefore I could not, and ought not, to claim or hold a share of your industry and risks. * * * In the meantime, I am thankful for the generous credit of necessaries which you offered me, and if I conclude a peace with

the Americans, which I expect to do, it will be in my power and ability to settle my account with you. These gentry will probably restore me my property now among them. CHAPTER XXI.

"Our Indian news is in the old strain. The Congress, on the one hand, pretends to hold out the white wing to all the Southern nations; on the other, the back settlers of North-Carolina are overrunning the Cherokees, driving them into the woods, murdering women and children, as if they wished to extirpate these poor wretches. A party of my warriors lately went among the Cherokees, collected some of them from their hiding-places, and attacked a body of the Franklin troops, that were laying all waste before them, and completely routed them. Only three Americans escaped. This is the first check they ever got in that country, and it has revived the drooping spirits of the Cherokees. 1788 September

"During our present suspense and half truce, I have encouraged a considerable party of the Upper Creek warriors to go to the assistance of these poor devils, for a few more checks will be of great service to their affairs with the Americans. * * * I have instructed Daniel McGillivray concerning the skins he carries down, of the Wewocoe store. This specimen of the troubles of trade has sickened me with it.

Farewell, my dear sir, may every good attend you,

Yours, most truly,

ALEXANDER McGILLIVRAY.

To WILLIAM PANTON, Pensacola."

The perusal of this letter has revealed the motives of its

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author. McGillivray had offended the Spanish authorities, and this letter appears to have been written chiefly for their eyes. He affects, also, to be under great obligations to Panton, and of little service to him in their commercial connection, which he pretends to desire shall terminate. This was all done for the purpose of alarming Panton, whom he informs he hopes to be able to pay up, if he should make a favorable treaty with the Americans. The wily Chieftain well knew that both Spain and this distinguished merchant would make *any* sacrifices, before they would permit him to be bought up by the Americans, and that his letter would go to extort from them further favors and emoluments.



During the succeeding twelve months, the Federal Government seized upon every occasion to gain the friendship of McGillivray, and to put an end to the excitement in Georgia. H. Osborne and Andrew Pickens were all the time upon the frontiers, representing the General Government, and writing to McGillivray to meet them, with a delegation from the entire Creek nation, at Rock Landing, upon the Oconee, to settle the serious matters in dispute. The Chieftain at length arranged to meet them; but, just before the time of joining them, wrote the following letter to Panton, which he requested should *privately* be exhibited to the Spanish authorities:

"LITTLE TALLASE, 10th August, 1789.

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"*Dear Sir*:—There being no pack-horses going to Pensacola for a long time past, I have had no opportunity to answer your last letters. The bearer, on my promising him two kegs of taffai, has undertaken to convey these to you.

"Galphin, whom I sent to the Rock Landing with a talk, declining the treaty of June last, returned about a fortnight since, and I find that they are resolved upon making a treaty. In order to accommodate us, the commissioners are complaisant enough to postpone it till the 15th of next month, and one of them, the late Chief Justice Osborne, remains all the time at Rock Landing. Pickens returned for the Cherokee treaty; but in this I took measures to disappoint him, for those Chiefs would not meet. In this do you not see my cause of triumph, in bringing these conquerors of the Old, and masters of the New World, as they call themselves, to bend and supplicate for peace, at the feet of a people whom, shortly before, they despised and marked out for destruction.* CHAPTER XXI. 1789 August 10

"My people being all at home, and the grand ceremony of kindling the new fire being just over, I deem it the fittest time to meet these commissioners, and have accordingly made the broken days, of which nine are left, to set out in. In conducting the business of the treaty, I will, as you observe, confine it to the fixing our limits and the acknowledgment of the independence of my nation. This I deem very necessary, as the Americans pretend to a territorial claim and sovereignty over us, in virtue of the late peace made with England. This being settled, will, in a great measure, be doing away with

* I can well imagine how McGillivray looked when he wrote this strong and eloquent sentence. At that moment he evidently felt his power, and his face must have been expressive of much pride, exultation and scorn.

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any cause of future quarrel between us. You well know how customary it is, in all treaties with the Indians, to agree to a commercial one also—it being absolutely necessary, as it more firmly attaches them to friendships formed, for, without stipulations of that sort, in a treaty of peace, none will be lasting. However, in this instance, I will agree to none, as you have a prospect of being able, by the favor of the Spanish government, to supply this trade on as moderate terms as the Georgians can do. Here, let me observe to you, that, in the affair of trade, the Americans will push hard for it, and it will be for us the most difficult part of the negotiation. But I will risk the breaking off the conference, before I will give in to it. On the whole, if I find that the commissioners insist upon stipulations that will, in their operation, clash with those already entered into with Spain, I shall not hesitate to cut short the negotiation, and support the connection which we have with Spain, it being more safe and respectable than the republicans can make one. But, at the same time, I must insist upon an equal resolution in our friends, the Spaniards, to afford us their decided support, by every means in their power, and not, under any pretences, to repeat their conduct of last summer, in the very moment of vigorous exertion, to refuse a further aid, and incense and menace us, to make a peace, right or wrong, with the Americans, which, if we had done at the time, we should have been driven into hostility with Spain before this day. I repeat to you what I have frequently done to Governor Miro, that, if we are obliged, for want of support, to conclude an unconditional peace with the

Americans, it will prove essentially hurtful to the King's interest. CHAPTER XXI.

"The ammunition and arms, given us by the King, we have not yet been able to fetch away. It is a good store in hand, to make ourselves firm, in treating with the Americans. But I am miserably disappointed in the guns. These my people, who have ever been accustomed to the best English guns, find the greatest difficulty to use, being entirely unfitted either for the purposes of hunting or war. They may say they have no other; but I pointed out where they may be got, and, if our friends resolve to support us, they might do it with that which is good. 1789 August 19

"A Chief of the Coosawdas, named Red Shoes, has lately returned from New-Orleans, very well satisfied with his reception and treatment there, and has brought a very good talk with him, and I am equally satisfied that the western horizon is again cleared up, and looks fair, and so it will always continue, if the intention of adopting, as good Spaniards— * * * The restless American is entirely given up, I mean in our neighborhood, between us and the Choctaws. I have observed to Governor Miro, that the reasons he gave me for settling Americans on the west side of the Mississippi are founded in real political principles, and I truly wish it was in the compass of our power to drive them all from the Cumberland and Ohio, to seek the new asylum, so, being moved out of our way, our warriors would never follow them there. The Coosawda Chief, Red Shoes, being disgusted with Captain Folch, of Fort "Tombecbe," resolved to go to Governor Miro,

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who satisfied him. Between you and I, believe me, that Folch is a madman. If he had spoken to an assembly of the Creek Chiefs, as he did to the Alabamas, challenged them to war, and exhibited to them his swivels, etc., he would have been directly taken at his word. He has been heard to declare that any person who would murder me should be protected in Spanish limits. I do not doubt his evil intention, as he has already given a specimen of it, in having assassins to murder a poor fellow, Lawrence, in the house of my sister, Sehoy Weatherford.* Such men, in official stations, do great injury to their country, at one time or another. This has been proved.

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"My friend, the governor, is likewise possessed with the belief, that all the damage done the settlers below is done by us; but it is wrong. The whole was a few horses and men

* Lawrence was killed in the house of Sehoy Weatherford, then situated upon the spot where Colonel Charles Hooks formerly lived, and which is now owned by Maurice Connolly. In those days, a man and his wife seldom lived in the same house. The husband, Charles Weatherford, lived at his race track, a few miles above, on the Alabama. Lawrence and others were accused of stealing horses from the Spaniards, near Mobile, and Captain Folch sent some equally bad men in pursuit of them. The accused took refuge in Sehoy Weatherford's house. It was surrounded, and Lawrence was killed in the middle of the floor. The others escaped. It is this circumstance to which McGillivray alludes. I derived these facts from Lachlan Durant, who was at the house of his aunt Weatherford, when Lawrence was killed. Durant was then a boy.

taken, and my sister Durant took back the greater portion of these from the Coosawdas. But, at present, the Choctaw is the favorite, and all the outrages which they commit are carefully turned upon us by their partizans. · It is notorious that the Choctaws are discontented, and Indians never fail to manifest it, either in taking scalps or committing depredations, which last they do, for it is common for them to kill horses and cattle, etc., on "Tombecbe," and this summer even about Mobile. But all this is concealed from Governor Miro. Ben James, who is so much confided in, is privately an American agent, and has actually a commission, which he received from Georgia, to act with Davenport, and I know, could he be supported with any necessaries by the Americans, he would throw off the mask. He was even weak enough to address me for leave to open a trade with the States, which I refused him, as well as his application. As a proof of my assertions respecting the Choctaws, Folch sent them a talk this summer, menacing them with a stoppage of their trade, until they made satisfaction. I am ever ready to make allowances for a momentary impression, caused by false reports; but it would be better that they were more guarded against, and not made the grounds of making differences, which might produce a serious effect. The late menaces which were thrown out to me created no great anxiety in my mind, because I could have directly opened the eastern door, where large magazines of goods, etc., have been stored, for some time past, awaiting it to be opened, but, for peace and quietness sake, I hope that there will be no occasion now for it—as everything is fallen into a

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calm, so let it remain; and, all that I have said or done was solely to discover and show the means to prevent it, I hope forever, between us.

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"The Chickasaw nation are content (whatever Diego Mingo may say to the contrary,) to put up with the loss of that chap's brother and son, for having fallen in bad company. This will be a warning, and convince them that they will not be permitted, with impunity, to act or encourage hostile designs against us, in concert with any people.

"Now, let me talk a little upon my private affairs. I wish I could lay my hand on that last letter, to send you, and a very curious, and, to you, not an uninteresting Carolina newspaper, just received; but they are both swallowed up in a multitude of papers. You know how it is with me, in the paper way. The commissioners of the United States say, it would give them great pleasure to have a private conversation, previous to our entering into the business of the treaty, as it would tend to make it go on agreeably, and with more ease. I need not interpret this paragraph to you, when you already know that I have, for some time past, been endeavoring to recover my house and lands, with my family estate, which, to your knowledge, is more than £30,000 sterling, the offer of which is now, I expect, to be pressed upon me. And there has, since I saw you last, arisen considerable conflict in my mind, in revolving these matters over. Here am I, an absolute heavy tax upon you, for years, and, in fact, not only for my private support, but for all the extra expenses of this department; and although, my dear sir, I know that I

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can still depend upon your generosity, and in your friendship, that you overlook the heavy expense that I put you to, yet you well know how hurtful it is to the feeling heart, to be beholden to subsist on the bounty of private friendship. Thus situated, I ask—I wish you to give me your opinion. On the one hand, I am offered the restoration of my property, of more than one hundred thousand dollars, at the least valuation; and on the other, not wherewithal to pay an interpreter. And I find that letters are still addressed to me, as agent for his Catholic Majesty, when I have sometime ago renounced the pittance that was allowed, as being a consideration disgraceful to my station. If they want my services, why is not a regular establishment made, as was done by the English, with a competent salary affixed, and allowance for two interpreters, one among the Upper and one among the Lower Towns, for, hitherto, I have had to maintain them myself; or shall I have recourse to my American estate, to maintain them and myself. I wish you to advise me what I had best do.

"Although I have no solid ground to hope a complete adjustment of our dispute with the Americans, I am resolved to go, if it is only to wipe off the suggestion made to me by our friends, that I am actuated by unjust motives and an unreasonable prejudice against the Americans, as the ground of hostility against them. But if they, on the other hand, should find a body of people approaching their mines, would not they say, what business have you here? Do not you know that there are grounds from which we draw the chief source of

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our conveniences and happiness, and we cannot suffer you to participate in, or deprive us of them; and these encroachers should refuse to withdraw, would they not commence and support an inveterate hostility, until they should expel them.

1789 August 10

"The fellow, Romain, whom Madame Villar writes of, was a great liar. He came here from the Choctaws, with a quantity of silver-ware and a few goods, and wanted Nick White to join him in purchasing negroes, to carry and sell in New-Orleans. After roving about for some time, he had a difference with Milfort,* who threatened to send him, in irons, to New-Orleans, which terrified him, apparently, and he went off to the Creek town, Chehaw, and, from thence, either to Detroit or to the States.

"A copy of this letter you can send to the **** Miro, as I intended the former one.

"I expect our treaty will be over by the middle of September. If we return safe, expect a visit early in October, from

Dear Sir, yours, most truly,

ALEXANDER McGILLIVRAY.

To WILLIAM PANTON, Pensacola."

William Panton was under great obligations to McGillivray, for the power of the Chieftain had enriched him beyond measure. He now had large trading establishments at all the prominent posts of Florida. His chief store was at Pensacola. It usually contained a stock of goods to the value of fifty thousand dollars, and he employed fifteen clerks to attend to

* The French officer who lived so long in the nation.

it. Here he had extensive "skin-houses," where his valuable skins and rich furs were assorted, and packed up, for foreign markets. Besides his stores at St. Johns, St. Marks, St. Augustine, Pensacola and Mobile, he had trading establishments at the Chickasaw Bluff, upon the Mississippi. It is said that fifteen schooners, owned by himself, were constantly employed by him, in his business. How alarming to him, then, was the preceding letter of McGillivray, and how anxious was he that no treaty should be made with the Americans, that would affect his extensive commerce. McGillivray, on the other hand, was in a situation the most favorable to obtain honors and emoluments, and he could well threaten the Spaniards with "opening the eastern door"—the Americans with support from the King of Spain—and alarm Panton with the idea of a new commercial treaty. This able and ingenious Indian, Scotchman or Frenchman, (for who can tell which blood most influenced his disposition,) kept Panton, Spain and the United States in a state of feverish excitement, while Georgia was horribly harassed, and made to feel his malignant resentments, for the banishment of his father and the confiscation of his patrimony. CHAPTER XXI. 1789

Washington was now President. He associated with Gen. Pickens, David Humphreys, Cyrus Griffin and Benjamin Lincoln, as commissioners, to treat with McGillivray. These three gentlemen, sailing from New-York, arrived at Savannah, with abundant provisions to feed the Indians, while at the treaty-ground. In a few days, they reached Rock Landing, upon the Oconee, where McGillivray, at the head of two thousand September 19

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warriors, had been encamped for more than a week, on the western bank of the river. The commissioners pitched their camp on the eastern bank. The first two days were spent in private conferences with McGillivray, much to the satisfaction of the commissioners, for they were treated by him with great courtesy and politeness. The latter also visited most of the Chiefs, who all appeared friendly, and glad to make their acquaintance. The commissioners crossed the river, to the western side, and, after partaking of the black drink, were conducted, by the Chiefs, with great pomp and ceremony, to the place of council. One of them made a speech to the Indians, promising much liberality on the part of the United States, which was well received. Impressed with the favorable turn of things, as they supposed, they immediately read to the Chiefs a copy of the treaty, which they had drawn up. It stipulated that the boundary made at Augusta, Shoulderbone and Galphinton should remain; that the United States would guarantee the territory, west of that boundary, forever to the Creeks; that a free trade should be established with the Indians, from ports upon the Altamaha, through which the Indians could import and export, upon the same terms as the citizens of the United States. That all negroes, horses, goods and American citizens, taken by the Indians, should be restored.

1789 September 24

September

The commissioners then retired to their encampments, and that night McGillivray and his Chiefs went into a grand private council. The next morning the Chieftain informed the commissioners, by letter, that the terms they proposed were

not satisfactory, and that the Indians had resolved to break up and go home. He promised to meet them again, at some future time, and to keep his warriors from acts of hostility, during the ensuing winter. The commissioners were astounded, for they had imagined that everything was in a proper train. But the terms they proposed were unaccompanied with a solitary equivalent, and exhibited an extremely niggardly spirit, from which the high-minded Andrew Pickens wholly dissented. He knew that a treaty could not be made, without liberal compensation for the valuable lands which the Georgians were then cultivating. The federal powers also knew this, and had instructed the commissioners to pay the Creeks a fair equivalent for this territory. They now sought every means to induce McGillivray to remain, and begged him to state his grounds of objection to the draft of the treaty. But he broke up his encampment, and retreated to the Ockmulgee, from which place he addressed the commissioners the following letter:

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1789 September

"Ockmulgee River, 27th Sept., 1789.

"*Gentlemen*:—I am favored with you letter of yesterday, by Weatherford. I beg to assure you that my retreat from my former camp, on the Oconee, was entirely owing to the want of food for our horses, and at the earnest entreaty of our Chiefs. Colonel Humphreys and myself, at different interviews, entered deeply and minutely into the subject of the contest between our nation and the State of Georgia. I observed to him that I expected ample and full justice should be given us, in restoring to us the encroachments we com-

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plained of, in which the Oconee lands are included; but, finding that there was no such intention, and that a restitution of territory and hunting-grounds was not to be the basis of a treaty between us, I resolved to return to the nation, deferring the matter, in full peace, till next spring. Many of the principals have gone hunting—nothing further can be done. I am very unwell, and cannot return. We sincerely desire a peace, but cannot sacrifice much to obtain it. As for a statement of our disputes, the honorable Congress has long since been in possession of, and has declared that they will decide on them on the principles of justice and humanity. 'Tis that we expect.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ALEXANDER McGILLIVRAY.

To the HON. COMMISSIONERS, Rock Landing."

The commissioners repaired to Augusta, with their fingers in their mouths. They drew up a series of questions for Governor Walton, of Georgia, who answered them. He stated that the lands between the mountains and the old Ogechee line, north of the Oconee, were equally the property of the Creeks and Cherokees; that, before the revolution, the lands in the territory of Wilkes county were ceded by these tribes to Georgia; that, during the war, the province had been attacked by these Indians, and, at the close of it, they were respectively called upon to make some satisfaction; that, in the spring of 1783, the Cherokees came to Augusta, and signed a treaty, and the Lower Creeks came, in the autumn,

1789 November

and performed the same act, thus ceding to Georgia their respective rights to lands specified in these treaties. These treaties were laid before the legislature. These lands were surveyed, sold, settled and cultivated in peace; that the Indians made these cessions voluntarily, and received presents, in return, of value, and that, at the treaty of Galphinton, no unworthy use was made of the force which was sent upon the ground. CHAPTER XXI. 1789 November

Governor Walton appended to this statement, a list of the Georgians who had been killed, and of the property stolen, during the recent hostilities, which was alarming in magnitude.*

The first impulse of President Washington, upon the return of the commissioners to New-York, was to wage a war of invasion against the Creeks and compel them to make a peace, and relinquish the Oconee lands. He was influenced to this course, against his judgment, by the urgent demands of the Georgia delegation in Congress. But when he found, from an estimate, that the expenses of the war would amount to fifteen millions of dollars, he abandoned the project, believing 1789 that the General Government could not sustain such an expense, while it was still struggling with that incurred by a long war with England. He believed that the difficulties could yet be settled by negotiation, if he could once get Colonel McGillivray into his presence. Col. Marinus Willett, a native of Long Island, New-York, and a distinguished officer in the Canadian war, and the American revolution, was

* American State Papers, Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 65–78.

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selected by Washington, as a secret agent, to visit the Creek nation, by a circuitous route, and to endeavor to return, with McGillivray, to the seat of the Federal Government. He was strictly enjoined to keep his mission a profound secret from every one, except General Pickens, to whom he bore a letter. Colonel Willett sailed from New-York, with a servant and two horses, and, after a passage of fourteen days, arrived in Charleston. Leaving this place, he had not proceeded far, before the servant, manifesting much fear, was ordered back to New-York, while a German, of doubtful character, supplied

1790 April 13 his place. Colonel Willett reached the residence of General Andrew Pickens, on the Seneca river. General Pickens was a gentleman who had been engaged extensively, as we have already seen, in negotiations with the Indians, and one in whom Washington reposed great confidence. Obtaining from General Pickens an Indian guide, for the Cherokee country,

April 19 and purchasing two additional horses, he sat out, to complete his lonely and difficult mission, after having enjoyed, for several days, the hospitality and kindness of that distinguished revolutionary character. Pursuing his journey leisurely, the Cherokee town of Santee, containing eighteen houses, and surrounded by mountains, was first reached. The route lay through Little Chote, and the town of Huntowekee, which embraced both sides of a branch of the Coosa, and contained about fifty houses. Along the banks of the Etowah, Colonel Willett entered Newcoheta, or Long Swamp, where he met Mr. Thomas Gogg, to whom he bore a letter from General Pickens. This gentleman accompanied him to Pine Log,

where he had long resided, as a trader among the Cherokees, and introduced him to Yellow Bird, the Chief, who not only received him with unaffected hospitality, but invited him to witness the novel and exciting game of the ball play. On the banks of the river, they reached Eustenaree, a city of refuge, to which the guilty were wont to fly, and be safe from punishment. No blood could be shed within the bounds of its sacred corporation. Here resided two Indian Chiefs, Badger and Jobberson, who gave him a warm reception, induced by the letters of General Pickens. The next morning, Jobberson and the interpreter, Mr. Carey, having agreed to accompany him to the Creek nation, the party all proceeded to Hihote, the last of the Cherokee towns in this direction, crossed the Etowah in a canoe, swam the horses, and ascended the Pumpkin Posh mountain, which is nearly a day's travel from the river. The wealthy Mr. Scott, a European, who had long been a trader in the nation, resided in the first Creek settlement, which they now entered. Here, learning that McGillivray was then on a visit to Ocfuske, on the Tallapoosa river, Colonel Willett determined to join him at that place. Since he had left the borders of South-Carolina, more than ten days had been consumed in his solitary march, over a wilderness country, which was the constant scene of murder and robbery. The expenses of the expedition, chiefly for provender, were paid for in ribbons and paints. At the house of Mr. Graison, in the Hillabees, the secret agent had the good fortune to meet Colonel McGillivray. He describes him as a "man of an open, generous mind, with a

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1790 April 28

April 30

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good judgment and very tenacious memory." Delivering the important letter of General Washington, two days were passed in conversation with this distinguished Indian personage, and here Colonel Willett, for the first time, witnessed the religious ceremony of the black drink. The party, accompanied by

1790 May 3

Colonel McGillivray and his servant, took leave of the hospitable mansion of Graison, and, after ten miles travel, approached the Fish Pond Town, where, in the evening, they were honored with a dance by the inhabitants. They soon

May 4

arrived at the Hickory Ground, a large town, and one of the residences of Colonel McGillivray. Here, it was understood that the Indians of Coosawda were engaged in a grand busking for mulberries.

It was not long before Colonel McGillivray sent out ten broken days, for the Chiefs of the Lower Towns to meet at Ositchy, to consult on public business; and, during this time, Colonel Willett amused himself in riding about the vicinity. He visited the old French fort, "Toulouse," the remains of which were scarcely visible. He tarried several days at Little Tallase, the birth-place of McGillivray, which was also called the "Apple Grove," situated on the east bank of the Coosa, five miles above the Hickory Ground, a most delightful and well-mproved place. Here he fared sumptuously, on fish, venison, strawberries and mulberries. On the 12th May, the agent and McGillivray, with their servants, set out eastwardly, and arrived at the great town of Tookabatcha at four o'clock, in the evening, and passed the night with Mr. Curnells, the interpreter. Crossing the Tallapoosa, in company with their

host, they went by the house of the Tallase King, and saw a Scotchman, named James McQueen, who had been a trader for sixty years, in the nation. The next day, they passed the residence of the Hollowing King, and reached Coweta, upon the Chattahoochie river, where Mr. Deresau, the interpreter, sheltered them for the night. Many of this numerous population were engaged in drinking taffai, and the night was spent in much noise and carousal. Passing down to Ositchy, the next morning, these distinguished gentlemen remained there, awaiting the arrival of the Chiefs, when, at 11 o'clock, A.M., Col. Willett, the secret agent, delivered to the assembled wisdom of the Creek confederacy an address, the substance of which was, that he had been sent an immense distance, by our Great Chief, George Washington, to invite them to his council-house, at New-York, where he, with his own hand, wished to sign, with Colonel McGillivray, a treaty of peace and alliance. He stated to them that the United States wanted none of their lands, and that Washington would take effectual measures to secure their territory to them, according to the treaty which he and Colonel McGillivray would conclude; that the President was ready to promote their trade, by affording them means to procure goods, in a cheap and easy manner, and intended to perform other acts, which would promote the welfare and happiness of the Creek nation. Colonel Willett concluded his speech, by earnestly inviting them to embrace these terms, and to select such Chiefs as they chose, to accompany Colonel McGillivray to the great council-house of New-York, where Washington would make a treaty with their

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Great Chief, "as strong as the hills and lasting as the rivers."

Retiring for an hour from the vast assembly, whom he left to deliberate upon his overtures, Colonel Willett was again called in, when he received the following speech, from the Hollowing King, a fine-looking man and great orator:

"We are glad to see you. You have come a great way, and, as soon as we fixed our eyes upon you, we were made glad. We are poor, and have not the knowledge of the white people. We were invited to the treaty at the Rock Landing. We went there. Nothing was done. We were disappointed, and came back with sorrow. The road to your great council-house is long, and the weather is hot; but our beloved Chief shall go with you, and such others as we may appoint. We will agree to all things which our beloved Chief shall do. We will count the time he is away, and, when he comes back, we shall be glad to see him, with a treaty that shall be 'as strong as the hills and lasting as the rivers.' May you be preserved from every evil."

1790 May 17

Having negotiated this business, to the mutual satisfaction of himself and the warrior, Colonel Willett returned to Coweta that evening, and the next morning assumed the retrograde march for Tookabatcha, where he arrived on the 21st, partook of the ceremony of the black drink, and received a speech from the venerable White Lieutenant, as the voice of the Upper Creeks, breathing sentiments similar to those delivered at Ositchy. Late in the evening of the next day, McGillivray and the agent arrived at the Hickory Ground.

From this place Colonel Willett despatched a letter to the Secretary of War, by the hands of Mr. Carey, the Cherokee interpreter. CHAPTER XXI.

Finally, Colonel McGillivray, with his nephew and two servants, accompanied by the secret agent, set out from Little Tallase, for New-York. They were all mounted on horseback, and accompanied by several pack-horses. Taking a north-eastern direction through the wilderness, they arrived at the Stone Mountain, in the present State of Georgia, and were there joined by the Coweta and Cusseta Chiefs. Reaching the house of General Pickens, the party received the warmest welcome, and, after being joined by the Tallase King, Chinnobe, the "great Natchez warrior," and other Chiefs, the expedition again set out, with three wagons, in which rode twenty-six warriors, while four were on horseback. Colonel McGillivray and suite were mounted on horses, and the agent rode in a sulkey. At Guildford C. H., North-Carolina, a truly affecting scene occurred. Some years before this, the Creeks had killed a man, named Brown, and captured his wife and children, whom they brought to the nation. Colonel McGillivray, moved at their unfortunate situation, redeemed them from slavery, by paying the price of their ransom, as he had done many others, and maintained them at his house over a year. Mrs. Brown, hearing of the arrival of Colonel McGillivray, rushed through the large assembly at the court-house, and, with a flood of tears, almost overpowered him with expressions of admiration of his character, and gratitude for his preservation of her life, and that

1790 June 1

June

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of her children, while alone in a land of savages. The party passed through Richmond and Fredericksburg, where they were treated with much kindness, while Colonel McGillivray was received by the most prominent citizens with distinguished consideration. Arriving at Philadelphia, Colonel Willett and his party were there entertained, for three days, in a manner which could not fail to please. Entering a sloop at Elizabethtown Point, they landed in New-York, where the Tammany Society, in the full dress of their order, received them in splendor, marched them up Wall street, by the Federal Hall, where Congress was then in session, and, next, to the house of the President, to whom they were introduced with much pomp and ceremony. Then, visiting the Minister of War, and Governor Clinton, a sumptuous and elegant entertainment, at the City Tavern, finished the day.*

1790 July 17

When it became known that McGillivray had departed for New-York, great excitement arose in Florida and Louisiana. A correspondence began with the Captain-General at Havana, and ending by his despatching, from East Florida, an agent, with a large sum of money, to New-York, ostensibly to buy flour, but really to embarrass the negotiations with the Creeks. Washington, apprised of the presence of this officer, had his movements so closely observed, that the object of his mission was defeated.

1790

Washington, communicating with the Senate, advised that

* A Narrative of the Military Actions of Colonel Marinus Willett, pp. 95–113.

the negotiations with McGillivray should be conducted informally, as all the overtures hitherto offered by the commissioners had been rejected. Embarrassments existed, because the commerce of the Creeks was in the hands of a British company, who made their importations from England, into Spanish ports. It was necessary that it should be diverted into American channels; but McGillivray's treaty, at Pensacola, in 1784, could not be disregarded, without a great breach of faith and morals on his part. CHAPTER XXI. 1790

But finding, from the informal intercourse with them, that McGillivray and the Chiefs were ready to treat, upon advantageous terms, Henry Knox was appointed to negotiate with them, and a treaty was concluded by him, on the part of the United States, and, on the other side, by McGillivray and the delegation, representing the whole Creek nation. It stipulated that a permanent peace should be established between the Creeks and the citizens of the United States; that the Creeks and Seminoles should be under the protection, solely, of the American government, and that they should not make treaties with any State, or the individuals of any State; that they should surrender, at Rock Landing, white prisoners and negroes, taken during the recent hostilities, in default of which, the Governor of Georgia was authorized to send persons in the nation, to claim and demand them; that the boundary line between the Creeks and Georgia was to be that claimed by the latter, in the treaties which she had made at Augusta and Shoulderbone. August 7

Thus did Alexander McGillivray at last surrender the Oco-

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nee lands, about which so much blood had been shed, and so much negotiation wasted. And for what? For fifteen hundred dollars, to be paid annually to the Creek nation, with also some goods, to be distributed among the Indians, which were then in the warehouses of Augusta. The Federal Government also guaranteed to them their territory free from future encroachments.*

1790

Did the proud, the powerful, the shrewd Alexander McGillivray surrender these valuable lands for the pitiful amount already mentioned? Ah!—but the reader must not be too fast. There was a *secret* treaty between him and Washington, which now, for the first time, comes to light, in history. It provided that, after two years from date, the commerce of the Creek nation should be carried on through the ports of the United States, and, in the meantime, through the present channels; that the Chiefs of the Ocfuskees, Tookabatchas, Tallases, Cowetas, Cussetas, and the Seminole nation, should be paid annually, by the United States, one hundred dollars each, and be furnished with handsome medals; that Alexander McGillivray should be constituted agent of the United States, WITH THE RANK OF BRIGADIER GENERAL, AND THE PAY OF TWELVE HUNDRED DOLLARS PER ANNUM! that the United States should feed, clothe and educate Creek youth at the North, not exceeding four at one time.

Thus Colonel McGillivray secured to himself new honors, and a good salary, by a secret treaty, which left him in a position to return home and to intrigue with Spain. Even

* American State Papers, Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 81–82.

in the presence of Washington and his able cabinet, the Chieftain pushed hard for favorable terms, and received them.*

1790 August 18

Receiving half of his salary in advance, McGillivray left New-York, with the Chiefs, for the bright waters of the Alabama. A veil of silence covers the acts of the august Chieftain, for several months, and we hear nothing more of him, until he was visited, in the nation, by Lieutenant Heth, who bore with him two thousand nine hundred dollars, in gold, the balance due to the Chiefs, agreeably to the treaty. He brought this money, on pack-horses, from New-York, around by Virginia and East Tennessee. Heth was instructed to remain with McGillivray a long time, and endeavor to get him to carry out the provisions of the treaty, in regard to the restoration of prisoners and negroes, and the running of the line between the Creeks and Georgians.

* I am indebted to Colonel John A. Campbell, an eminent lawyer of Mobile, and to Mr. Alfred Hennen, a distinguished member of the New-Orleans bar, for placing in my hands papers filed in the District Court of Louisiana, containing the letters of Alex. McGillivray to Panton, dated at Little Tallase, September 20th, 1788, and August 10th, 1789, which have been copied, in this History, at length. I also found, among this file, the "secret treaty," written upon sheep-skin, and signed by Washington, Knox, McGillivray and the Chiefs. A celebrated law-suit, brought in this court, by Johnson and other claimants, under the heirs of McGillivray *vs.* the heirs of Panton, was the means of the preservation of these important historical papers.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE FIRST YAZOO SALE—BOWLES, THE FREEBOOTER.

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GEORGIA claimed, under a charter of Charles II., all the territory, from the Savannah to the Mississippi river, lying between 31° and 35°. She had, as early as February, 1785, established, by legislative enactment, the county of Bourbon, embracing the settlements along the Mississippi, above and below Natchez; but the occupation of this country by the Spanish government prevented its occupation and settlement.

1789 December

Governor Telfair approved an act of the General Assembly, at Savannah, which authorized a conditional sale of the larger portion of this wild domain, for the purpose of peopling it, and enriching the treasury of the State. For a little upwards of sixty thousand dollars, five million of acres, now embracing the territory of the middle counties of Mississippi, were sold to a "South-Carolina Yazoo Company."

Seven millions of acres, now embracing the territory of the northern counties of Mississippi, were sold to the "Virginia Yazoo Company," for a little over ninety-three thousand dollars.

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Three million, five hundred thousand acres, now embracing the territory of the northern counties of Alabama, were sold for something over forty-six thousand dollars, to the "Tennessee Company."

Spain claimed much of this territory, by conquests, made towards the close of the revolutionary war, as we have already seen, and that power and the United States were now negotiating, to settle the boundaries; but Georgia took the matter into her own hands, as she has ever done with whatever concerned her, and as she always will do, as long as her soil is inhabited by its present enterprising, brave and restless population.

1789 December

Washington, becoming alarmed at the collision which he supposed would take place between the Federal Government, Georgia, Spain and the Indians, in consequence of this extraordinary sale of territory, issued a proclamation against the whole enterprise. But the "Tennessee Company" heeded him not. Its head and front, Zachariah Coxe, with a number of his friends, floated down, on flat-boats, from East Tennessee to the Muscle Shoals. Here, upon an island, they built a block-house, and other works of defence, intending to sell out much of the best lands, north and south of the river. But the Cherokees, under the Chief, Class, probably set forward by Governor Blount, of Tennessee, who was the active agent of Washington, advanced upon this establishment, drove Coxe and his adherents out of the block-house, and consumed it by fire. Other efforts were afterwards made to colonize this

1790 August 25

1791 May

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region; but were defeated by the opposition of the Chickasaws, the Cherokees, and the Federal Government.*

The "South-Carolina Yazoo Company" also attempted to colonize their lands, and, for that purpose, constituted Dr. James O'Fallan their agent-general, who went to Kentucky, raised troops, and issued commissions, in an illegal manner, with the design of taking the Natchez country from the Spaniards, and peopling the territory. At the same time, Edmund Phelan, the sub-agent of the company, was piloted
1790 through the Creek and Choctaw country, to Natchez, by an old Indian countryman, named Thomas Basket, who was to have been their interpreter. But Washington caused O'Fallan to be arrested, and ordered General St. Clair to put down, by military force, all attempts to colonize the Natchez country, against which the Spanish Minister had vehemently remonstrated. Great excitement existed; Washington was much embarrassed and much abused.

The "Virginia Yazoo Company" made no attempts to settle the lands which they had purchased.

These companies all failed to meet the payments due Georgia for these lands, and that State, by subsequent enactments,
1791 rescinded the whole bargain, having, in the meantime, withheld grants from the purchasers, which was a condition of sale, until the debt was fully discharged. A great deal of recrimination and abuse passed between the authorities of

* Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 249–256. Indian Affairs, vol. 1, p. 115.

Georgia and these companies, and the people who had innocently suffered, in fitting out private enterprises, to settle the new region. So ended the *first* Yazoo sale, by the legislature of Georgia. An account of another, and a more important and extensive one, will hereafter be introduced.* CHAPTER XXII.

A Quaker of Pennsylvania, named Andrew Ellicott, appointed by the Federal Government to run the line between the Creeks and Georgians, arrived at Rock Landing, upon the Oconee, in company with James Seagrove, an Irishman, who was appointed Superintendent of the Creek nation. At this place the government erected a strong fort, and threw into it a large garrison. McGillivray was constantly urged, from this point, to cause the Indians to consent to the running of the boundary line, and to assist in its execution; but the Chieftain delayed, and threw all the blame upon the hostile efforts of an extraordinary man, who must now be introduced to the reader. 1791 May

William Augustus Bowles, a native of Maryland, at the age of fourteen, entered the British army, as a foot soldier, and, after a year's service against his countrymen, sailed with a British regiment to Jamaica, in 1777, as an ensign, and, from thence, went to Pensacola. Here he was deprived of his rank, for insubordination. Disgusted with military discipline, and fond of a roving life, he contemptuously flung his uniform into the sea, and left Pensacola, in company with

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 116–117. Public Lands, vol. 1, pp. 120-121–163.

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some Creeks. He lived upon the Tallapoosa for several years, and acquired the Muscogee language to great perfection. He visited the Lower Towns, and there married the daughter of a Chief. His elegant and commanding form, fine address, beautiful countenance of varied expression, his exalted genius, daring and intrepidity, all connected with a mind wholly debased and unprincipled, eminently fitted him to sway the bad Indians and worse traders among whom he lived.

Bowles led a party of Creeks to Pensacola, in 1781, and assisted General Campbell to defend that place from the attacks of Don Galvez. He went to New-York, joined a company of comedians, and sailed to New Providence, of the Bahamas. Here he alternately acted upon the stage, and painted portraits, for which he had taste and genius. Lord Dunmore was then the Governor of the Bahamas. Panton, Leslie & Co. despatched to John Forbes, one of their associates, living at New Providence, a schooner, in which were six thousand piastres. Lord Dunmore seized upon this money, as contraband property. Panton instituted a complaint to the British Court, when the money was ordered to be returned. Dunmore ever afterwards hated Panton and his copartners. He selected Bowles as an agent, to establish a commercial house upon the Chattahoochie, which would check the prosperous commerce of these merchants. Bowles shortly appeared among the Lower Creeks, and threw the weight of his influence against Panton, and against McGillivray and the Georgians, all of whom he despised. But Milfort was sent to the Chattahoochie, with an order for Bowles to leave

the nation in twenty-four hours, on penalty of losing his ears. He fled to New Providence, and, from thence, was sent to England, by Dunmore, in company with a delegation of Creeks, Seminoles and Cherokees, to enlist the English government in the cause of these nations, by repelling American aggression. The British Court treated him with kindness, and heaped upon him valuable presents. He soon returned to New Providence, and began a piratical war upon the coasting-vessels of Panton, having taught his warriors to navigate the Gulf. He captured some of these vessels, laden with arms and ammunition, run them up in bayous, where he and an abandoned set of white men from the prisons of London, together with hosts of savages, engaged in protracted debaucheries, and, day and night, made the woods echo with horrid oaths and panther screams. Panton's boxes of merchandize were torn open, distributed among the Indians, and carried to all parts of the nation. Such piratical successes soon gave him popularity in the Creek country.* He now boldly advanced to the heart of it, denounced General McGillivray as a traitor to his people, and sought to overthrow him and place himself in power. He had many bad men, of influence with the Indians, who endeavored to stir up rebellion. The most conspicuous of these were Willbanks, a native of New-York and a refugee tory, and a half-breed Cherokee named Moses Price. His emissaries contended that

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* Du Lac's Voyage dans les deaux Louisianes, in 1801, 1802, 1803, pp. 458–460. Milfort's Sejourn dans le nation Crëck, pp. 116–124.

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neither the Americans nor Spaniards had any right to control the Indians, for that England had not ceded any of their country to either power, and that General McGillivray had endeavored to sell his people, first to Spain, and next, to the Federal Government. Indeed, at this period, McGillivray, for the first time in his life, began to lose the confidence of many of the Chiefs and common Indians, who were indignant at the provisions of the New-York treaty, which they openly disavowed. The Spanish authorities were angry with him, and Panton was deceived by him. Bowles even bearded him in his very den. All this time, the Federal Government was annoying him with urgent solicitations to comply with the treaty. Truly, one might suppose that General McGillivray was an unhappy man, and was soon to fall from his high position. At length he departed for New-Orleans, when Bowles and his emissaries exultingly declared that he had fled, never again to show his face upon the Coosa. He went frequently to New-Orleans, Mobile and Pensacola, during the winter, and was treated with great attention by the Spanish authorities, notwithstanding the treaty of New-York. The *secret* one, of course, they knew nothing of, nor did Panton. He professed to be sick of his trip to New-York, and requested not to be given the title of General. Here he arranged for the capture of Bowles, and soon the freebooter was brought to New-Orleans in chains, and from thence sent to Madrid, in Spain, where we must leave him for the present.

1791 November

It was not long before measures were adopted, to expel the American inhabitants, principally traders, from the Creek

nation. Governor Carondelet decreed that they were all to take the Spanish oath of allegiance, and "fight for the King, from the head waters of the Alabama to the sea." James Leonard, who had recently arrived at Tensaw, refusing to take the oath, was stripped of his property, and, while arrangements were making to send him to Moro Castle, in Havana, he made his escape to Rock Landing, upon the distant Oconee. CHAPTER XXII. 1792 June

McGillivray returned to the banks of the Coosa, still in power and authority. It was suspected that he had intrigued with the Spanish authorities. Not long afterwards, one Captain Don Pedro Oliver, who was a Frenchman, but wore the Spanish military uniform, made his appearance in the nation, and was stationed at the Hickory Ground, upon the Coosa. His pay was one hundred dollars a month, and he was accompanied by an interpreter, named Antonio. These things looked very suspicious to the federal agents upon the Oconee. It was believed by many that General McGillivray did not openly act against the American government, but that he was doing it secretly, through Captain Oliver and others. It was certain that, upon the representations of Carondelet to the Court of Spain, respecting the treaty of New-York, and the remonstrances of Panton to that power, in regard to its neglect of the Chieftain, his Catholic Majesty made McGillivray Superintendent-General of the Creek nation, with an annual salary of two thousand dollars! In July, to this amount was added a salary of fifteen hundred dollars, by the same power.* He was, at this time, the agent of Spain, 1792

* Papers filed in the District Court of Louisiana.

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with a salary of thirty-five hundred dollars, the agent of the United States, with a salary of twelve hundred dollars, the co-partner of Panton, and the Emperor of the Creek and Seminole nations. He was almost unrivalled in intrigue, and we doubt if Alabama has ever produced, or ever will produce, a man of greater ability.* We wish we could defend his conduct, with a clear conscience, but we cannot. It was eminent for treachery, intrigue, and selfish aggrandizement. However he may have been wronged by the Americans, he ought to have acted in good faith with them, after he had made the

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treaty with Washington. But McGillivray was like many ambitious and unscrupulous Americans of our day, who view politics as a trade. But, notwithstanding he displayed eminent selfishness, in his relation towards these rival powers, he was generous to the distressed, whom he always sheltered and fed, and protected from the brutalities of his red brethren. He had many noble traits, and not the least of which was his unbounded hospitality to friends and foes.

During the summer and fall of 1792, General McGillivray secretly caused large meetings to be held, over the Creek and Cherokee nations, at which he appeared to be only a visitor, while Panton and Captain Oliver, in speeches, forbid the running of the line between them and the Georgians, in the name of the King of Spain, and decreed that no American

* I have only introduced a few of McGillivray's letters, to show the order of his mind. The American State Papers contain many of his ablest letters, addressed to Congress and to the Secretary of War.

trader should enter the nation. Governor Carondelet was also CHAPTER XXII.
active in endeavoring to defeat the provisions of the New-York treaty. He sent to the Creek nation a large body of bloody Shawnees, armed and equipped, who took up their abode at Souvanoga, upon the Tallapoosa. McGillivray moved his negroes to Little river, gave up his house to Captain Oliver, whom he had so well established in the affections of his people, and was gone, a long time, to New-Orleans and Pensacola. The Spaniards not only had in view the prevention of the advancement of the Americans on the east, but determined to oppose the settlements upon the Mississippi; to effect all of which, they attempted to unite the four nations of Indians on their side. They strengthened all their forts, and authorized Captain John Linder, of Tensaw, and other active partizans, to raise volunteers. Carondelet gave Richard Finnelson and Joseph Durque passports, to go through the Spanish posts, to the 1792
Cherokee nation, as emissaries, to incite those Indians to make war upon the Cumberland people. John Watts, a half-breed of Willstown, was also an active agent. There was, suddenly, great excitement produced over the whole Indian country. One Chief declared, at Willstown,* that he had taken the lives of three hundred Americans, but that now he intended

* Willstown, named for a half-breed Chief, called Red Head Will, whose father was a British officer, was an important Cherokee village. The grave of Red Head Will is within two hundred yards of the residence of Jesse G. Beeson, who owns the entire site of Willstown, situated in Little Wills' Valley, DeKalb county, Alabama.

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to "drink his fill of blood." The Cumberland people fell victims on all sides, while the settlers upon the frontiers of Georgia shared the same fate. During all this time, McGillivray and the Federal authorities at Rock Landing were engaged in fruitless correspondence—the former professing his willingness to carry out the provisions of the New-York treaty, but never doing it. Everything conspired to defeat the hopes of Washington. Even Captain Oliver had become intimate with Willbanks, and the rest of the adherents of Bowles, and used them against the American interests. McGillivray also carried on a correspondence with the Secretary of War, in which he displayed his usual powers of diplomacy.*

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 305-315-288-290-432.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SINGULAR INHABITANTS OF ALABAMA.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE territory now called Alabama was but sparsely settled in 1792, except by the natives, and they occupied only some of the principal water-courses. Fort Charlotte, at Mobile, was garrisoned with Spanish troops. The old French "Tombecbe," which, in Spanish times, was called Fort Confederation, contained also a Spanish garrison. The English trading post, near the present Stockton, then called Tensaw, was repaired and occupied. A Spanish garrison occupied Fort St. Stephens, which was built upon a bluff on the Tombigby, called, by the Choctaws, Hobuckintopa. A considerable Spanish garrison held the fortress at Pensacola. West Florida and Louisiana were governed by the Captain-General, at Havana. The next person in authority was the Governor of Louisiana, to whom all the commandants of the posts in Alabama and Mississippi were subordinate. The whole territory of Alabama was then an immense wilderness, with American trading-posts on the east, upon the Oconee, and those of Spain upon the south and west, while it was uninhabited by whites, as far as the distant Cumberland settlements, on the north.

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The most populous settlement, with the exception of Mobile, was upon the Tensaw river and lake of that name. It was composed of both whigs and royalists. The latter had been driven from Georgia and the Carolinas. Added to these, were men, *sui generis*, appropriately called old Indian countrymen, who had spent much of their lives in Indian commerce. The most conspicuous and wealthy inhabitant of this

1792 neighborhood was Captain John Linder, a native of the Canton of Berne, in Switzerland. He resided many years in Charleston, as a British engineer and surveyor. There General McGillivray became acquainted with him, and, during the revolution, assisted in bringing here his family and large negro property.

In February, 1791, a party of emigrants, consisting of Colonel Thomas Kimbil, John Barnett, Robert Sheffield, Bar-

1791 February ton Hannon, and —— Mounger, with a wife and children, three of whom were grown, set out from Georgia, for the Tombigby. Entering the Creek nation, one of the children was injured by a fall, which compelled the elder Mounger and his younger family to stop upon the trail. They were afterwards robbed, by the Indians, of everything they possessed, and had to make their way back to Georgia on foot. The three young Moungers, and the other emigrants, continued to the Tensaw, passing the creeks and rivers upon rafts. They found, upon their arrival at Tensaw, the Halls, Byrnes, Mims, Killcreas', Steadhams, Easlies, Linders and others. Crossing the Alabama and Tombigby upon rafts, they found, residing below McIntosh Bluff, the Bates', Lawrences and Powells.

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Above there, on the Tombigby, they discovered the Danleys, Wheets, Johnsons, McGrews, Hockets, Freelands, Talleys and Bakers. Among these few people, Colonel Kimbil and his little party established themselves, and began the cultivation of the soil with their horses, upon the backs of which they had brought a few axes and ploughs. 1781 March

The garrison at St. Stephens was composed of one company, commanded by Captain Fernando Lisora. The block-house, the residence of the commandant, and the church, were good buildings, of frame-work, clay and plaster. The other houses were small, and covered with cypress bark. All the inhabitants of this place, and of the country, were required to labor so many days upon the public works, to take the oath of allegiance, and to assist in repelling the depredations of the Creeks, who stole horses and other property. 1780 Some French farmers, also, lived upon this river, who dwelt in houses made almost entirely of clay, while those of the Americans were constructed of small poles, in the rudest manner. They all cultivated indigo, which was worth two dollars and fifty cents per pound. The burning of tar engaged much of the time of the Spaniards, still lower down.

Upon Little river, dividing the modern counties of Baldwin and Monroe, lived many intelligent and wealthy people, whose blood was a mixture of white and Indian. This colony was formed at an early period, for the benefit of their large stocks of cattle, for the wild grass and cane were here never killed by the frost. A most remarkable woman, a sister of General McGillivray, lived occasionally among these people. 1780

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Sophia McGillivray, a maiden beautiful in all respects, was living at her native place, upon the Coosa, when Benjamin Durant, a man of Huguenot blood, came from South-Carolina, to her mother's house. A youth of astonishing strength and activity, he had mastered all who opposed him at home. Being informed by the traders that a man in the Creek nation was his superior, he immediately set out for that region, to which he had long before been inclined to go. He was handsome, and his complexion was almost as brown as that of the

1792 pretty, dark-eyed Sophia. She went with him to the Hickory Ground, only a few miles distant, where many Indians had collected, to see the antagonists meet. They encountered each other, and a tremendous fight ensued. Durant felled his antagonist to the ground, where he lay, for a time, insensible. The conqueror was proclaimed the champion of the nation. He soon married Sophia, and went to reside upon one of the estates of her father, the wealthy Lachlan McGillivray, situated upon the Savannah river. During the siege of Savannah, she was there with her father, her husband, and her little boy, Lachlan Durant, who is now favorably known to many of our modern citizens, and is yet a resident of Baldwin county. When the city was surrendered to the Americans, she parted from her father, amid a flood of tears, and set out for her native Coosa, while he, as we have seen, sailed, with his British friends, back to Scotland.

1792 Sophia Durant had an air of authority about her, equal, if not superior, to that of her brother, Alexander. She was much better acquainted with the Indian tongue, for he had

long lived out of the nation. When, therefore, he held councils in the vicinity of her residence, she was accustomed to deliver his sentiments in a set speech, to which the Chiefs listened with delight. Her husband became a wealthy man, and "Durant's Bend,"* and other places upon the Alabama, still preserve his memory. In the summer of 1790, while McGillivray was at New-York, the Creeks threatened to descend upon the Tensaw settlers, and put the whole of them to death. Mrs. Durant mounted a horse, with a negro woman upon another, and set out from Little river, camped out at night, and, on the fourth day, arrived at the Hickory Ground, where she assembled the Chiefs, threatened them with the vengeance of her brother upon his return, which caused the arrest of the ringleaders, and put a complete stop to their murderous intentions. Two weeks afterwards, this energetic and gifted woman was delivered of twins, at the Hickory Ground. One of them married James Bailey, who was killed at the fall of Fort Mims, in 1813, and the other lived to be an old woman. At a later period, Mrs. Durant will again appear in this history. CHAPTER XXIII. 1792 1792

The territory of the present county of Montgomery contained a few white inhabitants, in 1792. Among others, there was a white woman, who had lived with her husband, at Sa- 1792

* The most remarkable bend upon the Alabama, embracing a large tract of land, lying between Montgomery and Selma, formerly the property of the late Honorable William Smith, and now owned by John Steele, of Autauga. It was cultivated by Benjamin Durant, as early as 1786.

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vannah. He was there a foot soldier, in one of the British regiments, but deserted from the army, when she fled with him to the Chattahoochie. He died at Cusseta, and his bold and adventurous wife continued to wander through the Creek nation, and finally settled in the territory of the present county of Montgomery, upon the eastern side of a creek, which still bears her name, for she was called by no other than that of "Milly." Here, among the Cuwalla Indians, she established herself, without husband, father, children, or even a single friend. Espousing one of the sons of the forest, she soon began to have comforts around her. Her stock of cattle became large, to which was added, in a few years, a large drove of ponies. For many years, Milly lived alone upon this creek. The trading-path, leading from Pensacola to Tookabatcha, passed by her house. But, at the period of 1792, her solitary hours were agreeably relieved by the prattle of a little white girl. In 1790, a party of Creeks advanced to the Georgia frontiers, and, surrounding the house of one Scarlet, killed him and his wife and children. A little girl, named Tempey Ellis, about eight years old, the child of a neighbor, was in the house at the time, and, when the attack was made, she concealed herself under the bed. After all the family lay upon the floor, in the sleep of death, a warrior discovered Tempey Ellis, and, dragging her out by the hair, raised his hatchet to kill her; but, reflecting that he could possibly obtain a handsome sum for her ransom, he placed her on his horse, and carried her to Auttose, on the Tallapoosa. Here she was often beaten, and made to bring

1792

water from the springs. One day Milly heard that the Auttoses had a white girl in slavery. She immediately mounted her pony, rode to Auttose, paid ten ponies and six head of cattle for Tempey, and, the next day, carried this unfortunate child to her house. For several years she acted the part of a most affectionate mother. Subsequently, the child was delivered to Seagrove, the Creek Agent, at St. Mary's, and was sent from thence to her friends in Georgia. Old Milly was exceedingly attached to Tempey, and gave her up with great reluctance.* CHAPTER XXIII. 1792

Near the prairies, within a few miles of this solitary woman, lived William Gregory, a native of one of the States, who had resided for years among the Indians. He was now a stock-keeper, and lived in a cabin, which contained his Indian family. As far as the eye could reach, over the beautiful and gently rolling plains, his cattle and horses fed, undisturbed by man or beast. It is said that William Gregory was a kind-hearted man, who fed the wanderer, "without money and without price," and who, even in a lawless land, possessed a heart which prompted him to be honest.

In 1785 came, also, into this neighborhood a Jew, named Abram Mordecai, a native of Pennsylvania, and who established a trading-house at the spot where now stands the house of Mrs. Birch, two miles west of Line Creek. Here, 1792

* I have conversed with Tempey Ellis. She is now a respectable old woman, the wife of Mr. Thomas Frizell, residing in Pike county, Alabama.

CHAPTER XXIII. also, lived James Russell, another trader, who being a tory, had sought this place to be rid of whig persecution. A tory, named Love, and Dargan, a Dutchman and notorious horse-

1792 thief, lived near the site of Mount Megs, where they carried on a small commerce. All these traders had Indian wives, except Mordecai, whose faithful spouse was Indian, considerably darkened with the blood of Ham.

At Econchate, *Red Ground*, now embracing the southern suburbs of the city of Montgomery, lived several white traders. Charles Weatherford established a trading-house upon the first eastern bluff below the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, and laid out the first race-paths ever known in East Alabama. Often would the noted horse-thief, fresh from the frontiers of Georgia, here, for the first time, try the speed of his stolen ponies.

The most blood-thirsty, fiendish and cruel white man, that ever inhabited any country, was Savannah Jack, or, as he was

1792 universally called, by this outlawed world, "*Savaner Jack*," who lived at Souvanoga, upon the Tallapoosa. He boasted that he had killed so many women and children, upon the Cumberland and Georgia frontiers, in company with his town's people, that he could swim in their blood, if it was collected in one pool.

Thus we see that the territory of Montgomery county, now the focus of so much wealth and intelligence, was then a wilderness, inhabited by Indians and the few singular characters who have been named. Indeed, all over the territory of Alabama and Mississippi, wherever an Indian town of impor-

tance was found, white traders lived. Some of them became wealthy; but, like all property acquired in a commerce with Indians, it generally left the owner, in his old age. One of these up-country traders, "Woccocoie Clarke," living at Woccocoie, in the modern Coosa county, transported his merchandize and skins upon seventy pack-horses. His squaw, who was of great assistance to him, he called Queen Anne, for Clarke was an Englishman.

Besides skins, of various kinds, the traders bought up bees-wax, hickory-nut oil, snake-root, together with various medicinal barks, and transported them to Augusta and Pensacola on pack-horses, and to Mobile and New-Orleans in large canoes. The pack-horses used in this trade were generally small ones, raised in the nation, but were capable of sustaining heavy loads and of enduring great fatigue. A saddle, of a peculiar shape, was first placed upon the pony. The load consisted of three bundles, each weighing sixty pounds. Two of these bundles were suspended across the saddle, and came down by the sides of the pony, while the third was deposited on top of the saddle. The whole pack was covered with a skin, to keep off the rain. Thus the pony sustained a load of one hundred and eighty pounds. Even liquids were conveyed in the same manner. Taffai, a mean rum, was carried on these horses, in small kegs. Indeed, these hardy animals transported everything for sale, and even poultry, of all kinds, was carried in cages, made of reeds, strapped upon their backs. A pack-horseman drove ten ponies in a lead. He used no lines, but urged them on

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with big hickories and terrible oaths. Accustomed to their duty, they, however, seldom gave trouble, but jogged briskly along. The route and the stopping-places became familiar, and, as evening approached, the little fellows quickened their trot, with new life and activity. When the sun retired over the hills, the caravan stopped; the packs were taken off, piled up in a heap, and covered with skins; the horses were belled, and turned out to find their food, which consisted of grass and young cane. It was usually late the next morning before the horses were collected and packed, for no person, in an Indian country, is fool enough to regard time. An attack from the natives, upon traders, was of rare occurrence. They imagined that they needed the supplies which they brought into their country, and, regarding these singular merchants as their best friends, did not even rob them. A pack-horseman always drank taffai—it cheered him in the forest, and emboldened him in distress. With a bottle slung by his saddle, he often indulged, while those before and behind him followed his custom. Those going to Pensacola and other places, were frequently in want of the stimulant, and it was customary for the traders, whom they met, coming from market, to halt, and treat, and interchange jokes. The trader who suddenly rushed by a thirsty party, was long remembered, as a mean fellow.

Nothing stopped these men on their journey. They swam all swollen creeks, and rafted over their effects or produce. Where they had no canoes, rivers were crossed in the same manner. If they reached a stream, having large cane on its

banks, these were presently cut, ten feet long, and tied up into bundles, about three feet in circumference, which were placed in the water. Across these others were laid, which formed an admirable raft, capable of sustaining great weight. Logs were, also, often employed in the construction of rafts. Guided by long grape-vines, they were generally dragged safely across, to the opposite side, where the wet ponies stood, ready to receive their packs again. Then all hands drank taffai, and journeyed on, with light hearts and laughing faces. The average travel was twenty-five miles a day. The route from Pensacola was a well-beaten path, leading up the country, and across the fatal Murder Creek, and thence to within a few miles of the Catoma, when it diverged into several trails, one of which led to Tookabatcha, along the route of the old Federal road, the other to Montgomery and Wetumpka, by the Red Warrior's Bluff, now Grey's Ferry, upon the Tallapoosa. This trail continued to the Tennessee river.*

Northward, there were no white settlements between the Alabama river and the vicinity of Nashville. Here, in 1792, the Creeks committed many depredations. They pushed their hostilities to the very doors of Nashville. They attacked the house of Thompson, a wealthy and respectable man, killed the whole family, except his interesting daughter,

* Conversations with Abram Mordecai, James Moore, and many other old traders; also conversations with Hiram Mounger, of Washington county, Mrs. Sophia McComb, Mrs. Howse and Lachlan Durant. In many things, they are supported by the reports contained in Indian Affairs, vol. 1.

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just arrived at womanhood, whom they carried in captivity to Kialigee, upon the Tallapoosa, together with an amiable lady, named Caffrey, with her little son. The unhappy prisoners found, in this town, a young woman, named Sarah Fletcher, who had, several years before, been captured, in the Miro district, which was also called Cumberland district. Miss Thompson was ransomed by Riley, a trader, for eight hundred weight of dressed deer-skins, worth two hundred and sixty dollars, and was treated with kindness by her benefactor, and restored to her friends. Mrs. Caffrey was separated from her son, beaten with sticks, scratched with gar's teeth, and made to work in the fields. After two years, she was also carried to Nashville, but without her boy. The little fellow became an Indian in his feelings, and, when he had been in the nation five years, it was with difficulty that Mordecai could separate him from his Indian playmates, and carry him to Seagrove. That gentleman sent him to Governor Blount, and he finally reached his mother's arms. The bloody Coosawdas, who lived upon the Alabama, were frequently out upon the Cumberland, engaged in the massacre of the settlers and the plunder of their effects. Captain Isaacs, the Chief of this town, returned, in 1792, with Elizabeth Baker, a young lady from Cumberland. How miserable and lonely must have been the journey, with these sanguinary warriors, who bore the scalps of her father, mother, brothers and sisters, daily suspended upon poles, before her eyes. When she arrived in Coosawda, the savages hung their trophies upon the council-house, and danced around them with exulting shouts.

But she found a friend in Charles Weatherford, who lived across the river. He ransomed Miss Baker, and placed her in charge of his wife, Sehoy, the half-sister of General McGillivray, and the mother of the celebrated William Weatherford, who will figure in this history hereafter. The unfortunate captive ultimately reached her friends. It would be an endless task, to enumerate all the instances of murder and captivity which occurred upon the frontiers of Georgia and Tennessee.*

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 431–433–270–274–634.

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DEATH OF McGILLIVRAY—BLOODY SCENES.

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THE Spanish authorities of Louisiana and the Floridas were accused of producing the bloody scenes, to which allusion was made in our last chapter. Great jealousies and difficulties existed between them and the south-western people of the United States, and even between them and the Federal Government. John Jay, on the part of the latter, and Don Guardoqui, representing Spain, began a correspondence at New-York, then the seat of the Federal Government, as early as 1785, for the purpose of settling the matters in dispute. Jay insisted upon the right of the people of the Union, now fast settling upon the head branches of the Tennessee, the Cumberland and the Ohio, to navigate the Mississippi, to the Gulf, with their commerce, free of duty, and also the right to occupy, exclusively, all the territory east of that river, as low down as the line of 31°, all of which, he contended, was consistent with our treaty with England, made in 1782. Guardoqui resisted these claims, with great show of reason. He contended that Don Galvez, in 1780, by his victories, took from England, Mobile, Baton Rouge, and Fort Panmure, at Natchez, with all their depen-

dencies; that, at the same time, Captains Parre and Villars, with Spanish troops, took formal possession of the English posts on the Upper Mississippi, east of that river, one of which was situated two hundred and twenty-two leagues above St. Louis; that, in 1781, Don Galvez completed these conquests, by the reduction of Pensacola; that the territories now in dispute were, at the time of the signing of the treaty between England and the United States, solely in the occupation of Spain, and that England had no right to negotiate in regard to them, and, in fact, did not really do so, but rather "tacitly left safe the territorial rights of His Catholic Majesty." These positions were met by Jay, by a reference to the treaty which Spain made with England, seven weeks after the latter had made the one with us. In the eighth article, Spain agreed to restore, without compensation, all the English territories conquered by her, except the Floridas, the northern limit of which, he asserted, was 31°; that Spain was bound, by this article, to have delivered up to England (who was to deliver to the United States) all the territory claimed by Georgia, from the Chattahoochie to the Mississippi, between 31° and 35°. But there was the rub. Which was the northern boundary of Spanish West Florida? We have impartially examined this subject. The charter of Charles II., to the lords proprietors of South-Carolina, under which Georgia claimed all the present States of Alabama and Mississippi, that monarch had no right to make. The territory of these States was discovered (to say nothing of the conquest of De Soto) by the French, under Marquette and La Salle, and then by Iberville. Ala-

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bama and Mississippi were immediately occupied by France. That power continued to hold possession for sixty-two years. We have seen that she did not surrender these territories to England until 1763. These territories were occupied, then, by England, from 1763 until 1780 or 1781, when they fell, by conquest, into the hands of Spain, who immediately occupied them with her troops, and extended over them her government. Well, now, where was the just claim of the United States for Georgia? Did England have any right to transfer to us, in a treaty, territories of which she had three years before been deprived, by Spanish conquest? Nay, England not only had no right to do that, but she admitted she had no right, when, seven weeks afterwards, she concluded a treaty with Spain, and confirmed to her West Florida, the British northern line of which was 32° 28′, and not 31°, as contended for by Jefferson, Jay, and various American historians.

The negotiation between Guardoqui and Jay resulted in nothing, and the navigation of the Lower Mississippi remained closed against American citizens. In the meantime, Spain became alarmed. The treaty with McGillivray, at New-York, and the movements of the first Yazoo companies, aroused her. She asked for a renewal of negotiations. The President responded, by sending to Madrid, Carmichael and Short, who entered into negotiations once more with Guardoqui, who had been recalled to Spain, and was then Secretary of Foreign Affairs.* After much correspondence, in which both powers

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* American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. 10, pp. 131–137; also Foreign Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 252–255.

frequently accused each other of improper interference with the Indians inhabiting the disputed region, over whom they each exclusively claimed the superintendence, the negotiations terminated, without any arrangement satisfactory to us. All that Spain would admit, was the probability of her ultimately allowing the northern boundary of her West Florida possessions to be the line of 32° 28′, while she was also disposed to allow the establishment of a warehouse at the mouth of the Yazoo, in which American citizens could deposit their produce, from their own boats, brought down the Mississippi. These productions were then to be taken to New-Orleans in Spanish boats, and sold or exported, subject to Spanish duties.* All this time, the agents of Spain, near the Federal Government, were constantly annoying Jefferson, the Secretary, with a series of complaints against Governor Blount, of Tennessee, and Seagrove, the Creek Agent, which were answered by similar complaints against the Spaniards, on the part of the latter. Much ill-feeling was elicited between these parties, while the people of Georgia were perfectly rampant, censuring the Federal authorities for the weakness, irresolution and tardiness, displayed in conducting the negotiations. They proclaimed that, if the United States much longer neglected to drive the Spaniards from their territory, they would undertake it themselves. The horizon of this vast Indian wilderness was still further darkened, by the incessant border warfare between the Indians and the frontier

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* American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. 10, pp. 159–162.

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Americans.* Spain assumed very high and unwarrantable grounds, in one respect. She even opposed the running of the line around the Oconee lands, and it was made the subject of remonstrance to the Federal Government. She claimed a surveillance over the affairs of the Creeks, by her treaty with them, at Pensacola, and avowed her determination to protect them against the encroachments of the Georgians. As none of the Oconee territory lay within the limits of West Florida, Spain certainly stepped beyond reason, in seeking a quarrel with the Americans about it.

General McGillivray continued to make visits to Governor Carondelet. In returning from New-Orleans, late in the summer of 1792, a violent fever detained him long in Mobile. Recovering, he went to Little Tallase, where he wrote his last letter to Major Seagrove. He appeared to deplore the unhappy disturbances which existed, and ascribed them to the interference of the Spaniards with our affairs. He had often responded to the letters of the Secretary of War, in relation to carrying out the provisions of the New-York treaty, and, several times, assured him that he had explained that instrument frequently, to the Chiefs, and had urged them to comply, but that the Spanish influence had defeated his recommendations. In one of his letters, he says to the Secretary: "You will recollect, sir, that I had great objection to making the south fork of the Oconee the limit, and, when you insisted so much, I candidly told you that it might be made an

* American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. 10, pp. 185-186.

article, but I could not pledge myself to get it confirmed, or that of the restoration of the negro property, which had so often changed owners." CHAPTER XXIV.

But this remarkable man was fast approaching dissolution. He had long been afflicted, and was always of a delicate constitution. He spent the winter upon Little river, which now divides the counties of Monroe and Baldwin. The account of his death is presented in the language of the great merchant, William Panton, in a letter, dated Pensacola, April 10th, 1794, and addressed to Lachlan McGillivray, the father of the Chieftain, who was, at that time, still alive, at Dunmaglass, Scotland. 1792 and 1793

"* * * Your son, sir, was a man that I esteemed greatly. I was perfectly convinced that our regard for each other was mutual. It so happened, that we had an interest in serving each other, which first brought us together, and, the longer we were acquainted, the stronger was our friendship.

"I found him deserted by the British, without pay, without money, without friends, and without property, saving a few negroes, and he and his nation threatened with destruction by the Georgians, unless they agreed to cede them the better part of their country. I had the good fortune to point out a mode by which he could save them all, and it succeeded beyond expectation.

"* * * He died on the 17th February, 1793, of complicated disorders—of inflamed lungs and the gout on his stomach. He was taken ill on the path, coming from his cow-

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pen, on Little river, where one of his wives, Joseph Curnell's daughter, resided, and died eight days after his arrival here. No pains, no attention, no cost was spared, to save the life of my friend; but fate would have it otherwise, and he breathed his last in my arms.

"* * * He died possessed of sixty negroes, three hundred head of cattle, with a large stock of horses.

"* * * I advised, I supported, I pushed him on, to be the great man. Spaniards and Americans felt his weight, and this enabled him to haul me after him, so as to establish this house with more solid privileges than, without him, I should have attained. This being the case, if he had lived, I meant, besides what he was owing me, to have added considerably to his stock of negroes. What I intended to do for the father, I will do for his children. This ought not to operate against your making that ample provision for your grand-son, and his two sisters, which you have it in your power to make. They have lately lost their mother, so that they have no friends, poor things, but you and me. My heart bleeds for them, and what I can, I will do. The boy, Alleck, is old enough to be sent to Scotland, to school, which I intend to do, next year, and then you will see him."*

General McGillivray was interred, with masonic honors, in the splendid garden of William Panton, in the city of Pensacola. He was a severe loss to that gentleman, and to the

* I found Panton's letter among the bundle of papers in the District Court of New-Orleans.

Spanish government. His death, among the Indians, everywhere, produced deep sorrow and regret. The great Chieftain, who had so long been their pride, and who had elevated their nation, and sustained it in its trials, now lay buried in the sands of the Seminoles.

General McGillivray was six feet high, spare made, and remarkably erect in person and carriage. His eyes were large, dark and piercing. His forehead was so peculiarly shaped, that the old Indian countrymen often spoke of it: it commenced expanding at his eyes, and widened considerably at the top of his head. It was a bold and lofty forehead. His fingers were long and tapering, and he wielded a pen with the greatest rapidity. His face was handsome, and indicative of quick thought and much sagacity. Unless interested in conversation, he was disposed to be taciturn, but, even then, was polite and respectful. When a British colonel, he dressed in the British uniform, and when in the Spanish service, he wore the military dress of that country. When Washington appointed him a brigadier-general, he sometimes wore the uniform of the American army, but never when in the presence of the Spaniards. His usual dress was a mixture of the Indian and American garb. He always travelled with two servants, David Francis, a half-breed, and Paro, a negro, who saved the lives of over a hundred royalists, in 1781, as we have seen. He had good houses at the Hickory Ground and at Little Tallase, where he entertained, free of charge, distinguished government agents, and persons travelling through his extensive dominions. Like all other men, he had his

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faults. He was ambitious, crafty, and rather unscrupulous; yet he possessed a good heart, and was polite and hospitable. For ability and sagacity, the reader will admit that he had few superiors. We have called him the Talleyrand of Alabama. Will not his political acts, but a few of which have been presented, for the want of space, entitle him to that appellation?

The Indian sky still remained darkened by scenes of murder and robbery. The Chehaw Creeks, upon the Flint, instigated by William Burgess, a trader in the Spanish interest, plundered the store of Robert Seagrove, at Trader's Hill, upon the St. Mary's, killed Fleming, the clerk, and two travel-

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lers named Moffit and Upton, most cruelly beating, with sticks, a woman residing there, named Ann Grey. Six miles from the hill, they killed a family of men, women and children, moving in their wagons, and made prisoners a woman and a child, whom they reserved for greater sufferings. The inhabitants of the new counties of Glynn and Camden often

April

felt such attacks. At the Skull Shoals, of the Oconee, Richard Thresher, two children and a negro woman, were shot down, while his wife, plunging into the river, with a babe in her arms, received a ball in her head, turned over, and sunk beneath the waves. Governor Telfair determined, at once, to raise a large force for the invasion of the Creek country. Washington, at the solicitation of the Georgia delegation in Congress, sent to Augusta a large stand of arms and ammunition. He authorized Governor Telfair to enlist a few companies, for the protection of Georgia, but remonstrated against

the contemplated invasion, stating that it was unauthorized by law, would embarrass the negotiations still pending between the Federal agents and the Creeks, and also those going on with Spain, and that the enemy had only killed some people upon the remote frontiers. But Governor Telfair, with the true spirit of a Georgian, heeded him not, and resolved to "carry the war into Africa." He disdained to accept of the troops which the President had authorized him to raise, but placed General Twiggs at the head of seven hundred mounted men. That gallant officer, of revolutionary memory, marched to the Ockmulgee river, where a mutinous spirit and the want of provisions caused a retreat. This abortive attempt at conquest emboldened the Creeks to new scenes of pillage and blood. Although mortified at the failure of his first attempt at invasion, Governor Telfair did not relax in his exertions to protect the people, but constantly scoured the country between the Oconee and Ockmulgee, with a large force of mounted militia, which, for a time, stopped the Indian ravages. These operations again called out the remonstrances of Washington, which had no effect whatever upon the Georgians, many of whom entertained for the President the most implacable hostility, and placed his effigies upon pine trees, and fired guns at them. It is a very common belief, with people of modern times, that Washington, during his executive career, HAD NO ENEMIES. He received as much abuse, not only in Georgia, but in various portions of the Union, as any of our Presidents.*

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* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 362–368.

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Although Seagrove had been Superintendent over two years, he had never entered the Creek nation, but had communicated with the Chiefs through an honest and intelligent man, named Timothy Barnard, who had long resided among the red people. At Cusseta, that gentleman met a council of Chiefs, the most prominent of whom were the White Lieutenant, John Kinnard, the Mad Dog, the Head King, and Alexander Curnells, representing the Upper and Lower Towns, who requested him to assure Seagrove that they desired to see him in their country, and promised to protect him while he remained with them. But the efforts of the agent to restore peace, and to procure the marking of the boundary, were embarrassed by the military operations of Governor Telfair, who assured him that his contemplated mission to the Creek nation would result in no good; that his mind was made up, to chastise the Creeks, until they restored the white prisoners, the negroes, and other stolen property, and delivered up ten hostages from the Upper, and an equal number from the Lower Towns, together with thirteen principal hostiles, to be put to death by the people of Georgia; that he would submit to no treaty made with the Creeks, where Georgia agents were not allowed to participate. Such was the treaty of New-York. It is singular that this treaty, made by Washington, for the good of all parties concerned, should have been so violently opposed. The Spaniards, as was anticipated, denounced it, but it received equal opposition from the Creeks and *Georgians*.

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Notwithstanding the high grounds assumed by Governor

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Telfair, Seagrove resolved to go into the nation; but was deterred, by information which he received, that a body of armed men, under Captain Peter B. Williamson,* intended to intercept and prevent him, and that the Georgia troops had destroyed Little Ocfuskee, upon the Chattahoochie, which resulted in the death of six Indians, while eight others were carried prisoners to Greensboro'. Barnard was again sent to the Chattahoochie, who, after a council with the Chiefs, returned, with another invitation for Seagrove to visit their country, and that, although they were much aroused against the Georgians for this attack upon a peaceable town, they imputed no blame to the Federal authorities. Finally, the agent set out from Fort Fidius, escorted by a military guard, to "prevent," as he wrote to the Secretary of War, "my being robbed by the frontier banditti, who, two days ago, stole ten of the horses upon which I had to carry goods for the Indians." Seagrove had the reputation of being a timid man, and of not entertaining a very high sense of honor. Arriving at the Ockmulgee, the escort was dismissed, when one hundred and thirty Indian warriors took charge of his person, from thence to Cusseta, upon the Chattahoochie. At this place, he was saluted by the Indians with the beating of drums and the roars of a piece of artillery. He advanced to Tookabatcha, the capital of the nation, which lay upon the west bank of the Tallapoosa. He occupied one whole day, in a speech to a vast assembly, and, although surrounded

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November 23

* Afterwards Judge of the County Court of Lowndes, Alabama.

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by Spanish agents and enemies, he rose above his character, boldly pointed out the aggressions of the Creeks, and their faithlessness, in not complying with the New-York treaty.

The council sat forty-eight hours, without adjournment, and then rose, having stipulated, on the part of the Creeks, to deliver to Seagrove the negroes, horses, cattle, and other property, taken from the Georgians during the last twelve months. They further agreed, to put to death two or more of the principals engaged in the late murders upon the frontiers. The Spanish agent, Captain Don Pedro Oliver, was present, and congratulated Seagrove upon what he was pleased to term his fortunate mission.

Having remained at Tookabatcha some weeks, arranging his business with the Chiefs, Seagrove, one night, was attacked by the Tallase King, at the head of a party; his house was plundered, and he forced to fly, for his life, to a pond, thick with trees and bushes. There he remained several hours, up to his waist in cold water, expecting, every moment, to be scented out, dragged forth, and put to death. In the morning the Chiefs interposed, pacified the Tallase King, and the trembling agent came out from his watery place of refuge. The Tallase King was one of those who had conveyed away the Oconee lands, at Augusta, and who, like the Georgians, entertained no good feeling for the Federal agents.*

A spirited border war continued to be waged upon the

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 305–412–422–471–472. Also conversations with old Indian countrymen.

northern frontiers. Captain Hadley, whose troops had been attacked upon the Cumberland mountain, was brought to Willstown by the victorious party, composed of Creeks, Cherokees and Shawnees. They debated, for several days, upon his life, which was at length saved, through the solicitations of Alexander Campbell and John McDonald, two old British traders, of Willstown, but now in the Spanish interest. Great preparations were on foot, in this region, for the final extermination of the Cumberland people. John Watts, a Cherokee half-breed, had regularly organized three companies of mounted Indians, who had been furnished with the necessary arms by Governor Carondelet. A large deputation of Shawnees, from the north, had just completed a campaign through the Creek nation, endeavoring to enlist recruits for that end, and had succeeded in collecting six hundred and seventeen warriors, who passed through Willstown, on their way up. The people of East Tennessee, also, felt the attacks of these marauding parties. They defended themselves with bravery, but sometimes were guilty of acts of great imprudence, which served to irritate the Indians who were friendly. Captain Beard, at the head of mounted militia, attacked the peaceable people of Hiwassa, wounded Hanging Maw, the Chief, and killed his wife and a dozen others. The Indians rallied, and repulsed the assail ants. Such was the state of feeling and alarm, that Governor Blount placed General Sevier at the head of six hundred mounted men. That officer, crossing the Tennessee below the mountains, marched for the Oostanaula, where he made some Cherokees prisoners. Proceeding to the site of the

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June 12

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modern Rome, he discovered Indian intrenchments on the opposite bank of the Etowah. Plunging into that stream, the troops gained the southern bank, and, after a fight of an hour, the Indians gave way, bearing off their dead and wounded, but leaving their camp equipage, horses, Spanish guns and ammunition. General Sevier afterwards scoured this whole region, without opposition, and returned to East Tennessee. It appeared that the evil one, himself, was stalking through this wild region, for, independently of the commotions upon the frontiers of Georgia and Tennessee, the Creeks and Chickasaws were engaged in a bloody war, while French emissaries were at work to estrange the affections of the South-Western people from the Federal Government.*

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 434–439–441–454–464–470.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE FRENCH MINISTER, GENET—HIS DESIGNS UPON THE SOUTH-WEST.

CHAPTER XXV. 1793 January 26

Louis XVI., the friend of America, had been beheaded at Paris, and Robespierre, and other hyenas, swayed unhappy France. Genet was their American Minister. Upon his arrival in the United States, he assumed unwarrantable grounds. After failing to enlist Washington in his Jacobinical notions of liberty, he sought to disaffect the Southern and Western people, and to dismember the Union. He took advantage of the excited feeling of the population, upon the Holston, Cumberland, Ohio, and other tributaries of the Mississippi, who had long denounced the Federal Government, for allowing them no protection against the savages, and for not compelling the Spaniards, who held the Lower Mississippi, to grant them the free navigation of that river. Indeed, these brave and adventurous people had just grounds of complaint. They were cut off from the rest of the Union, and had to defend themselves, while their rich products, of corn, flour and tobacco, rotted at their doors, on account of

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the arbitrary laws of the Spanish provinces below them. They, naturally enough, entertained no love for a Union which was no advantage to them. The Georgians, on the other hand, claimed all the territory, between 31° and 35°, from the Savannah to the Mississippi, and, although independent of the navigation of the "Father of Waters," viewed its exclusive occupation by the Spaniards as a great outrage, not only against their rights, but those of their North-Western brethren. Georgia was also irritated with the Federal Government, for its irresolution and tardiness in adjusting her various rights, both in regard to the Spaniards and the Creeks, as we have repeatedly seen. Again, Genet was further encouraged in his nefarious schemes, on account of the war which was then declared between France and Spain. He was led to believe, from all these circumstances, that it would be an easy matter to make the disaffected citizens of the United States allies of France, and, associated with the dissatisfied French population, upon the Mississippi, he could overthrow the Spanish provinces of Louisiana and the Floridas, and establish a government dependent upon the republic of France. Two expeditions were planned by him, in the West, while in Charleston. Several distinguished citizens had accepted commissions under him. The desire to invade the Floridas prevailed in Georgia, to an alarming extent. From the frontiers of South-Carolina and Kentucky, detachments, called the "French Legion," marched to places of rendezvous. They were to serve three months, and receive bounties of land. Genet was to have been commander-in-chief. His most

influential and powerful assistant was General Elijah Clarke, of Georgia. That gentleman had despatched an agent to Lexington, Kentucky, who purchased, upon his credit, two boats, powder and cannon-ball, which were conveyed down the Ohio. An agent was furnished with ten thousand dollars, to purchase supplies for a Georgia army, to assemble at St. Mary's. Clarke had authority to issue military appointments, in the name of the French republic, and he constituted Peter B. Williamson, major, —— Carr, a colonel, and conferred the commissions of captain on —— Bird and other citizens of Georgia. The French sloop-of-war, Las Casas, direct from Charleston, anchored at St. Mary's, within musket-shot of the American post, which was in command of Major Gaither. She was destined for Louisiana, and her officers asserted that thirteen sail, large and well-manned, were yet to follow, from different ports of the United States. In the meantime, boat-builders were vigorously employed upon the Ohio, and persons of character and wealth sold their property at auction, to facilitate their completion. A considerable body of Creeks and Cherokees had likewise been enlisted in the cause of the "French republic." The Governor of East Florida, alarmed at these preparations, remonstrated with Governor Mathews, of Georgia, who immediately issued his proclamation, forbidding the people of Georgia to engage in such enterprises. Shortly afterwards, Washington issued a proclamation against the whole project, and authorized Governor Mathews to employ all the United States troops, then in Georgia, to put down the contemplated invasion.

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Governor Carondelet was active in preparations for defence. He strengthened New-Orleans, and added troops to the fort at Mobile, and other posts, while he erected new ones at several points below the mouth of the Ohio. The militia, throughout Louisiana and the Floridas, were completely organized. It is strange that the Baron Carondelet should, at this time, have resorted to the same scheme contemplated by his enemy, Genet. He, too, despatched an emissary—an Englishman, named Powers—among the Western American citizens, with offers of arms, ammunition, money, and free navigation, if they would join his standard, and separate themselves from the Federal Union. But his plans, as well as those of Genet, were defeated by the firmness of Washington and the loyalty of the States of Georgia and South-Carolina. The latter, too, came to the rescue of the Federal Government—the Legislature adopting measures for the arrest of Genet's agents.*

1794 Seagrove remained at Tookabatcha until the 1st of April. Then he departed for Georgia, with a delegation of Chiefs, who visited Governor Mathews, who appears to have been a more conciliatory man than the fiery Telfair, who had now gone out of office. The Chiefs expressed a desire for peace, and Governor Mathews sent them back to the nation, well

* American State Papers, Foreign Relations, folio edition, vol. 1, pp. 454–460. Martin's History of Louisiana, vol. 2, pp. 91–118–122–123–126–127–128. Monette's History of the Valley of the Mississippi, vol. 1, pp. 469–485–492–496–505–510.

pleased with their visit, and guarded by a detachment, under General Glasscock.

A new settlement, contemplated west of the Oconee, was now about to originate more trouble with the Creeks. The restless and enterprising General Elijah Clarke, who had fought with so much indomitable courage, and who had displayed such remarkable endurance, during the whole of the revolutionary war, and was one of the best whigs that ever lived, was at the head of this movement, and that, too, immediately upon the heels of the abortive attempt to invade Florida. After the revolution, he continued to defend his State, and his resolute spirit and mighty arm beat off many a murderous savage band. But he was too impulsive and restless for times of peace. He now undertook to extinguish the Creek claims, in a very practical manner. With a large party of men, he began a settlement opposite Fort Fidius, on the west side of the Oconee, upon Indian territory. General Irwin, on the part of the State, ordered him to remove, which he refused to do. Mathews forbid, by proclamation, the contemplated settlement, and accused Clarke of an attempt to form a separate and independent government. The latter appeared at the Superior Court of Wilkes, and surrendered himself to the Judge, who placed his case before the MAGISTRATES. These worthy and learned men went into a full history of the laws of the United States, those of Georgia, those of the world, called the "law of nations," those of the Creeks, and those of the Spaniards, and came to the very liberal decision, en-

1794 July

CHAPTER XXV.

dorsed upon the indictment, "*that the said Elijah Clarke be, and is, hereby discharged.*"

Many people now flocked to the standard of Clarke. His settlements were pushed with vigor, a town was laid off, and Forts Advance and Defiance were erected and garrisoned. Washington was uneasy at this movement, and requested Governor Mathews to put down all attempts at the occupation of the Indian domain, and promising to furnish him with troops from South-Carolina, if it should become necessary. Mathews directed Generals Twiggs and Irwin to break up these establishments. They approached them with Georgia militia, who acted with great firmness and moderation. Clarke, abandoned by all his men, except twenty, surrendered, upon condition that his property, and that of the colonists, should be returned to them. The forts and houses were destroyed by fire, and the affair happily ended, without the shedding of a drop of blood.

1794 September 25

The northern frontiers were still disturbed by Indian marauding parties. Major James Ore advanced from Nashville, with five hundred and fifty mounted infantry, to the town of Nickajack, surrounded and attacked it by surprise, and killed many of its inhabitants, while nineteen women and children were made prisoners. On his march from thence, up the river, he was attacked, at the Narrows, by the savages, who, after a few fires, gave way, and retreated to Running Water, which was soon taken, and likewise destroyed. Ore re-crossed the Tennessee, before night, and took up the line of march

September 13

for Nashville, with his prisoners, and a large quantity of effects, which had been taken by the Indians from various persons. Andrew Jackson, afterwards President, was a private in this expedition.*

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 495–500–632. Kendall's Life of Jackson, p. 89.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SECOND YAZOO SALE.

CHAPTER XXVI. 1794 and 1795

THE winter of 1794 and 1795 was remarkable for the celebrated Yazoo speculation, or, as the more intolerant opponents of the measure termed it, the "Yazoo fraud." We have already seen how a prior sale of territory, lying in Alabama and Mississippi, by the Georgia Legislature, ultimately terminated. We have said that we did not believe that Georgia, under the treaties made between Spain, Great Britain and the United States, in 1782 and 1783, had a right to the extensive territory lying between the Chattahoochie and the Mississippi, but, as the Federal Government contended that she had, it ought to have placed her in possession of the country, by the expulsion of the Spaniards. The Georgians felt much aggrieved by the conduct of the General Government, in not only permitting the Spaniards to occupy what they really believed to be their soil, but in suffering them constantly to instigate the Creeks in killing and plundering their frontier population, and in interfering with their treaties. In truth, Georgia did not recognize the right, even in the Federal Government, to make treaties with the Indians, re-

specting the territory which she claimed—while the General Government, on the other hand, did not admit any right in Georgia to make treaties. These, and many other things of a like nature, we are charitable enough to believe, chiefly prompted the Yazoo sale.

1794 December 29

The first bill which the Legislature of Georgia passed, in regard to the Yazoo sale, at the session of 1794, was returned, with the objections of Governor George Mathews. He contended that the time had not arrived for the disposal of the territory; that the sum offered for it was not enough; that the quantity reserved for the citizens was too small; that greater advantages were secured to purchasers than to citizens; that it would operate as a monopoly: and that at least one-fourth of the lands ought to be reserved, for the future disposal of the State. The Legislature became much excited at the veto of the bill, and, in a few days, passed another, which Governor Mathews signed.

1795 February 7

Governor Mathews was a man of honor and integrity. He vetoed the first bill, not on account of any fraud which he supposed the Legislature was committing upon the Federal Government, for, in common with many other prominent citizens of Georgia, he believed that the State had a right to sell its own lands; but he vetoed it for the reasons which we have enumerated.

Governor Mathews was a native of Ireland, and landed upon the Virginia shore in 1737. Establishing himself in the county of Augusta, he immediately became a formidable and fearless defender of the country, against the Indians west of

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the Ohio, who frequently made incursions into Western Virginia. After many combats, in defence of his father's house, and those of his neighbors, he was appointed a captain, and participated, in the most gallant manner, in the great battle fought between the Virginians and Indians, at the junction of the Ohio with the Kenawha, on the 10th October, 1774. In 1775, he was elected a colonel of the ninth regiment, and, for two years, he commanded it, on the eastern shore of Virginia, after which he joined General Washington. Colonel Mathews commanded his regiment at Brandywine, and, at the battle of Germantown, captured a regiment of the enemy. He received a very severe wound with a bayonet, in another skirmish, was taken prisoner, and confined on board a British ship, in the harbor of New-York. He was not exchanged until the termination of the war, when he joined General Greene, as commander of the third Virginia regiment. He removed to "Goose Pond," on Broad river, Georgia, in 1785, with his family. One year afterwards, he was elected Governor of the State. Under the present constitution, he was the first representative of Georgia in Congress, and, in 1794, 1795, he was again governor.

Governor Mathews was short in stature, and compactly made. His hair was light, and his complexion fair and florid. He wore a three-cornered cocked hat, a pair of top-boots, a shirt full-ruffled in front and at the wrists, and, occasionally, a long sword at his side. He was a man of unsurpassed bravery, and of indomitable energy. His mind was of a strong and vigorous order, but wholly uncultivated, except by

observation of men and things. His education was more limited than that of any other man of the same distinction. In consequence of his valuable military services, the Legislature of Virginia has preserved his memory, in the name of one of the counties of that State. CHAPTER XXVI.

The preamble to the Yazoo bill declared that the articles of confederation stipulated that each State was to retain her territory; that, by the treaty of Paris, of 1783, the boundaries of Georgia, as well as those of other States, were confirmed; that they were consistent with all the former acts of Georgia, and with the convention held at Beaufort, in 1787, between South-Carolina and Georgia; that the States had the right of pre-emption, as well as the full exercise of all territorial rights; that the legislature disapproved of the New-York treaty with McGillivray; that the President had no authority to guarantee, therein, all the territory west of the Oconee to the Creeks; and that Georgia clearly had the right to convey fee simple titles to all her territories, to individuals or companies.

The act stipulated that one-fifth of the purchase-money should be paid into the Georgia treasury, previous to the passage of the bill. The remainder was to be paid on the 1st November following, secured, by a mortgage, to the governor. Payments were to be made in specie, United States Bank bills, or military warrants, drawn by the governor, from 1791 to 1795, inclusive.

For the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, the legislature sold to James Gunn, Matthew McAllister, George

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Walker, and their associates, termed the "GEORGIA COMPANY," an immense area of territory, which now embraces the following modern counties:

IN ALABAMA—Clarke, Marengo, Greene, Perry, Autauga, Bibb, Shelby, Tuscaloosa, Pickens, Fayette, Jefferson, St. Clair, the southern portions of Blount, Walker and Marion, and portions of Wilcox, Monroe, Dallas, Sumter and Baldwin.

IN MISSISSIPPI—The larger portions of Kemper, Neshoba, Leake, Madison, Yazoo and Issaquena, all of Washington, Holmes, Attala, Winston, Noxubee, Lowndes, Oktibbeha,

1795 February 7

Choctaw, Carroll, Sunflower, Bolivar, Tallahatchie, Yalabusha, Chickasaw and Monroe.

For the sum of one hundred and fifty-five thousand dollars, the legislature sold to Nicholas Long, Thomas Glasscock, Ambrose Gordon, Thomas Cumming, and their associates, called the "GEORGIA MISSISSIPPI COMPANY," all the territory out of which has since been formed the following counties:

IN MISSISSIPPI—The northern portions of Greene, Perry, Marion, Pike, Amite and Wilkinson, all of Adams, Franklin, Lawrence, Covington, Jones, Wayne, Jefferson, Copiah, Simpson, Smith, Jasper, Clarke, Lauderdale, Newton, Scott, Rankin, Hinds, Warren, Claiborne, and the southern portions of Yazoo, Issaquena, Madison, Leake, Neshoba and Kemper.

IN ALABAMA—Nearly all of old Washington and Sumter, and the south-west corner of Greene.

For the sum of thirty-five thousand dollars, that body also conveyed to Wade Hampton, John B. Scott and John C. Nightingale, termed the "UPPER MISSISSIPPI COMPANY," the

territory extending entirely across the extreme northern part of the State of Mississippi, twenty-five miles deep, now embracing the northern portions of the modern counties of De Soto, Marshall, Tippah, Tishamingo and a fragment of the northern part of Tunica. CHAPTER XXVI.

For the sum of sixty thousand dollars, the Legislature of Georgia also sold to Zachariah Coxe, Mathias Maher, and their associates, called the "TENNESSEE COMPANY," all the territory comprising the whole of North Alabama, out of which the following counties have since been formed: Lauderdale, Limestone, Madison, Jackson, De Kalb, Cherokee, Marshall, Morgan, Lawrence, Franklin, and the northern parts of Marion, Walker and Blount. 1795 February 7

The lands thus conveyed to the four Yazoo companies, for the gross sum of five hundred thousand dollars, contained twenty-one million five hundred thousand acres. A reserve of two millions of acres was made, from this purchase, for the benefit of the citizens who desired to become purchasers, upon the original terms of sale. The four companies paid promptly into the treasury one-fifth of the purchase-money, and obtained titles from the governor. During the progress of this bold measure, the members of the legislature were in the midst of the profoundest excitement, which extended to the "lobby members," and the whole community.

The bill was signed by Thomas Napier, Speaker of the House, Benjamin Taliaferro, President of the Senate, and approved by His Excellency, George Mathews, Governor.

It was asserted that "bribery and corruption distinguished

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the proceedings of the members favorable to the Yazoo act." The public documents abound with affidavits, pro and con. It was asserted that members were bought up, to vote for the measure, by receiving, in advance, from the companies, certificates of large shares of the land which they were about to vote to sell. The public became aroused upon the subject.

A majority of the counties, through their grand juries, pronounced against the act. Public meetings assembled, all over Georgia, and the bitterest denunciations fell from the lips

1795 May 10 of every speaker. A large convention was held at Louisville, where hundreds of petitions were read, and evidence adduced, setting forth "the atrocious peculation, corruption and collusion, by which said usurped acts and grants were obtained." Although the tide of public sentiment swept over the State in angry torrents, destroying the popularity of the members who voted for the act, and elevating to power its most vio-

November 1 lent opponents, yet the four companies paid up the whole of the purchase-money, and believed themselves secure in their vast fortunes, because the bill stipulated that the acts of no subsequent legislatures should affect their titles.

Washington was astounded at the Yazoo sale, and laid

February 17 before Congress copies of the bill, using this language in reference to it: "These acts embrace an object of great magnitude, and their consequences may deeply affect the peace and welfare of the United States." The two houses of Congress adopted a resolution, instructing the Attorney-General to investigate the title of Georgia to the lands sold.

The Legislature of Georgia again convened, in the winter,

with a new governor and new body of members, except those who voted *against* the Yazoo sale. General James Jackson, a distinguished partisan officer of the revolution, was at the head of the new organization. He had canvassed the State, and, from the hustings, denounced the extraordinary measure, while, with his able pen, he produced several severe pamphlets upon the subject. He introduced a bill for the repeal of the Yazoo sale, which declared it "null and void." It was adopted, and received the signatures of Jared Irwin, the new Governor, Thomas Stephens, Speaker of the House, and Benjamin Taliaferro, President of the Senate. In the midst of the largest procession ever known in the land, the records of the Yazoo act were expunged, and, to show the indignation of its opponents, the bill itself was consumed, in the streets of Louisville, by fire from HEAVEN!*

CHAPTER XXVI. 1795

1796 February 13

But, in the meantime, hundreds had emigrated to the Tombigby and the Mississippi, establishing themselves in those distant and isolated regions, intending soon to occupy the lands which the companies had proposed to grant them. In this respect, the Yazoo sale was a great blessing. It contributed to throw into that wild region a population of Georgians, whose activity, ability and enterprise better fitted them to seize, occupy, and bring into cultivation a wilderness, mark

* They held a sun-glass over the paper, until it was consumed by the fire thus generated. The Yazoo act may be seen, together with all the votes upon it, and an account of the excitement which it produced, in Public Lands, vol. 1, pp. 120–144. Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 551–555–561. Georgia Digest, of 1798, pp. 557–558.

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out towns, people them, build female academies, erect churches, and hold courts, than any other people.

1796 May

By an arrangement between the President and the Georgia authorities, Benjamin Hawkins, of North-Carolina, George Clymer, of Pennsylvania, and Andrew Pickens, of South-Carolina, repaired to Coleraine, upon the St. Mary's river, where they met James Jackson, James Simms and James Henricks, agents for Georgia. The object was the formation of a treaty of peace with the Creeks, and the cession, to Georgia, of the lands between the Oconee and the Ockmulgee. A full delegation of Indians, consisting of twenty Kings and seventy-five Chiefs, together with three hundred and forty warriors, soon arrived. Seagrove, the Creek Agent, suggested the propriety of moving the council from Coleraine to Muscogee, a short distance off, which was accordingly done. There, the Chiefs, after marching under the United States flag, performing the eagle-tail dance, smoking with the commissioners, and engaging in other ceremonious preparations, began the council. The first day was occupied with the speeches of the commissioners, who gave a full exposition of the views and wishes of the President. On the following day, General Jackson, on the part of Georgia, made a long speech, in which he pointed out the faithless observance of their treaties with his State, by the Creeks, and exhibited two schedules of the property which they had stolen, amounting to the value of one hundred and ten thousand dollars, which he demanded to be restored. The Indians listened with profound attention, and, when he had concluded, they

adjourned for the day—the Big Warrior, who had lately become a prominent Chief, facetiously remarking, "I can fill up more paper than Jackson has done, with a list of similar outrages of the Georgians upon my people." CHAPTER XXVI.

A treaty was concluded, between the Chiefs of the *whole* Creek nation and the Federal commissioners, the former ratifying the New-York treaty, and pledging themselves to carry out its provisions, and to assist Spain and the United States to run their line. They also stipulated to allow the government the right to establish posts upon the territory between the Ockmulgee and Oconee, allowing to each five miles square of land; but they positively refused to cede any of this territory to Georgia. The United States stipulated to allow the Creek nation two blacksmiths and two strikers, with tools and iron, and to distribute, immediately, six thousand dollars worth of goods among those who were present. 1796 June 29

The Georgia agents were offended with Seagrove, with the Indians, and with the Federal commissioners. They presented to the latter a protest, in which they accused them of having disregarded the interests of Georgia. They brought charges against Seagrove, who, they contended, influenced the Creeks not to cede the lands as far as the Ockmulgee. The Federal commissioners denied these allegations. Seagrove and Jackson became great enemies, and afterwards fought a duel.* June

Washington had despatched Thomas Pinckney, as Envoy

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 586–616.

CHAPTER XXVI. 1795 October 27

Extraordinary, to Madrid, who there concluded, with the Prince of Peace, a treaty, in which the King of Spain stipulated that the southern boundary of the United States should be the line of 31°, from the Mississippi to the Chattahoochie, thence, down the middle of that river, to its junction with the Flint, thence direct to the head of the St. Mary's river, thence down the middle of that stream to the Atlantic; that all Spanish posts and inhabitants, found north of this boundary, should be removed, within six months after the ratification of the treaty, and the American posts and inhabitants living south of it, should also be removed, within the same period; that the navigation of the Mississippi, from its source to the Gulf, should remain free for the commerce of the subjects of Spain and the citizens of the American Union; that both powers should cultivate peace with the Indians, for mutual benefit and protection; that, hereafter, Spain should not form treaties of alliance with Indians living upon American soil, nor the Federal Government with Indians living upon Spanish territory; and that Spanish and American commissioners should mark the boundary, before the expiration of six months, after the ratification of the treaty.*

Colonel Andrew Ellicott, who had remained upon the Oconee so long, to no purpose, awaiting a favorable opportunity to run the line, according to the New-York treaty, was now transferred, by Washington, to Natchez, as one of the commissioners to mark the boundary between Spain and the

* Foreign Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 553–559.

United States. He reached Natchez, by way of the Ohio, and immediately commenced negotiations with Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, commandant of Fort Panmure, Governor of the Natchez dependencies, and commissioner on the part of Spain. But Carondelet had determined not to comply with the treaty, affecting to consider it made by his sovereign as a "*court finesse*," until he could settle his European difficulties, when he would wholly disregard it, and hold on to his posts east of the Mississippi. He again began to intrigue with the Western American population, for the dismemberment of the Union, through his emissary, the notorious Powers. General James Wilkinson, then at the head of the Western American army, who had long been the intimate friend of Carondelet, and had received from him private and exclusive privileges of trade, which were highly beneficial to him as a Western planter, was suspected of secretly advancing these ends. Meanwhile, Lieutenant McLeary, with an American force, unfurled the Federal flag upon the heights of Natchez. He soon afterwards marched to Fort Panmure, and demanded its surrender, agreeably to the treaty. But Gayoso, who had placed it in complete repair, and had strengthened it with artillery and men, refused to evacuate it. The Spanish posts at Walnut Hills and Baton Rouge were all strengthened, by the orders of Carondelet. An angry correspondence ensued, in which Ellicott remonstrated against this conduct, as conflicting with the letter and spirit of the treaty. Gayoso justified himself, upon the ground that the Choctaws and Chickasaws, whom he had hired to surround

CHAPTER XXVI. 1797 February 24

March 15

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Natchez and make threats, intended to attack the Natchez settlements, in consequence of the presence of the American troops. While these things were going on, Lieutenant Percy Smith Pope arrived at Natchez, with forty men, which were added to the American force. Gayoso remonstrated against the presence of these troops, intrenched within sight of Fort Panmure. Their flag was an eye-sore to the Spaniards. He desired their removal to Clarkesville; but Ellicott refused.

1797 May

Various reasons were given by the Spaniards for not evacuating the country, one of which had some foundation, and that was the descent upon New-Orleans, contemplated by Western American citizens, who had joined the British, of Canada, for that purpose. One of these men was Governor Blount, of Tennessee, whom the United States Senate, of which he was a member, unanimously expelled, for endeavoring to enlist Western men in such an enterprise. Colonel Hutchens, Mr. Ripelge, and other prominent citizens of the Floridas, it is asserted, were also concerned in the contemplated invasion. But this soon blew over, and other excuses for delay were invented by Carondelet and his subordinate commandants. These things served to irritate the Natchez population, which had greatly increased, and desired the expulsion of the Spaniards. Ellicott constantly urged Gayoso to begin the running of the line, but never could get him to appoint a time. The people became tumultuous, and Gayoso, dreading the consequences of an outbreak, issued a proclamation, announcing that the treaty would ultimately be complied with. They refused to listen to his promises, and the excitement became

alarming, when it was ascertained that Gayoso had imprisoned an American citizen, a Baptist preacher, named Hannah, who, having taken too much whiskey, had given the Spanish commandant some insulting language. The excitement was great in the country. Public meetings advised violent measures. Gayoso was greatly alarmed, and issued another proclamation, exhorting the people to submit to the Spanish government, until the difficulties could be settled, and promising pardon to all who should repent of their misdeeds. The Georgians had never been accustomed to such language as this, and their anger now knew no bounds. Gayoso skulked through the cane, and had an interview with Ellicott, whose room he approached by the back way. By his earnest entreaties, the American commissioner urged the people to become quiet, and he was greatly assisted by Colonel Hutchens, who had much influence with the old English population. He is the same gentleman, it will be recollected, whose property the Spaniards confiscated, in 1781, and who made his escape, through the Creek nation, to Georgia.

1797 June 14

In the midst of scenes like these, Ellicott was kept in suspense, until the 29th March, when the Spanish fort was evacuated, and all the Spanish troops sailed down the river. He then marched his own troops, and corps of woodmen and surveyors, to Tunica Bayou, and commenced his survey in a dense swamp, upon the eastern bank of the Mississippi, where the line of 31° strikes it. In a few days, he was joined by Major Stephen Minor and Sir William Dunbar, commissioners

1798 March 29

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on the part of Spain.* Gayoso was now Governor of Louisiana, and he visited Ellicott's camp, with his military staff, and approved of the work, as far as it had progressed. Spain, as well as the United States, furnished troops, to protect the surveyors from attacks of the Indians. These, with the pack-horses, woodsmen and laborers, had the appearance of an army. The commissioners met with great difficulties, from thick swamps, creeks, marshes and rivers, all of which they had to go through. The trees were well blazed along the line, and a mound thrown up at the end of every mile. They

1798 November 19 did not reach Pearl river until the 19th November. There Ellicott left the surveyors, and went down that stream, in a canoe, to New-Orleans. Arranging his business with Gayoso, and purchasing a small vessel, camp equipage and supplies,

1799 March 17 he sailed to Mobile, and thence up the river of that name, until he reached the camp of the surveyors. They had passed entirely through the Choctaw nation, without opposition from that people. The line of 31° struck Mobile river six miles below the junction of the Tombigby and Alabama, where several rivers run parallel, forming an immense swamp, several miles wide, which was now inundated. By means of

April 2 boats, they erected signals upon the high lands of either side, and took the necessary observations and distances. These

* Monette, vol. 1, pp. 517–532. Stoddart's Sketches of Louisiana, p. 89. Marbois's Louisiana, pp. 163–165. Ellicott's Journal, pp. 26–176. American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. 3, p. 335.

signals consisted of flags and tremendous lightwood fires. Ellicott here again left the surveyors, sailed to Pensacola, and lodged at the elegant quarters provided by the hospitable firm of Panton, Leslie & Co. Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, now a permanent Creek Superintendent, left the nation, by appointment, and, reaching Pensacola, informed Ellicott that a large number of Creeks were then on their way down, to hold a council. It was decided to meet them upon the Conecuh, where the line would cross. This was in opposition to the suggestion of Governor Folch, who proposed Pensacola, where, it was supposed, he intended to intrigue with the Creeks, to prevent the line being run. Indeed, the Spaniards generally were opposed to the surrender of so much territory. At Miller's Bluff, Ellicott, Hawkins, Minor, and Colonel Maxant, with several Spanish officers, met the Creeks. These agents of the United States and Spain, addressing the Indians, urged them to assist in running the line, and not to oppose it, all of which they had stipulated to do, at the treaty of Coleraine. The Mad Dog, of Tookabatcha, replied, on the other side, and assured the commissioners that their wishes would be complied with, as they now understood that the line was to be run through their territory, by the consent of Spain. The surveyors, to whose party were added two Chiefs and twenty Creek warriors, had reached the Conecuh, and begun the line from thence to the Chattahoochie. Returning to Pensacola, Hawkins and Ellicott learned, to their surprise, that a large body of Creeks were on their way, by an arrangement of Governor Folch, and that the survey would be

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stopped. Encamping three miles north of Pencacola, these savages demanded presents of the American commissioner, which, from motives of policy, were granted, although he had no agency in assembling them. It was soon ascertained that Folch was secretly using every exertion to defeat the plans of the American government. Ellicott left Pensacola, sailed for the mouth of the Apalachicola, and ascended that river. Reaching the surveyors' camp, he ascertained that the Creeks had been very insolent, hanging upon their rear in large bodies, and plundering their effects. Greatly discouraged by this news, he pushed the survey to the Chattahoochie, where he fortified himself. He sent a runner to the Ockmulgee, for Hawkins, who had left Pensacola. About this time, Captain

1799 August 25

Minor dismissed his military escort, discharged many of his laborers, according to the instructions of Gayoso, given in May, and became very importunate to set out for the St. Mary's. In the meantime, Hawkins had arrived, and advised the continuance of the work. But a party of Indians advanced, and declared their intention to plunder the camps. Resolutely marching up to them, with the military, Hawkins kept them at bay until 10 o'clock at night, when they promised to remain at peace till morning. All that night, however, the woods rang with their riotous yells, while they threw down the beef-pens, and stole cattle and horses. They cut all the rigging of Ellicott's schooner, and robbed the master and crew, stripping them to their shirts. Fortunately, the cargo had been taken to the camp. The commissioners determined to retreat from Governor Folch's savage banditti. Captain

Minor, who is believed to have been innocent of any participation in originating these hostilities, set out for the St. Mary's, attended by the American military escort, with the surveyors, who now ceased to work. Ellicott entered his naked schooner, and propelled her, in the best way he could, down the Apalachicola, having saved all his papers and astronomical apparatus. Nearly three years had expired since he landed at Natchez, and he had only been able to mark the line from the Mississippi to the Chattahoochie, in consequence of the duplicity, treachery and opposition of the Spaniards. But the chief object was accomplished—*the establishment of the southern boundary of the present States of Mississippi and Alabama.* Colonel Hawkins, abandoned by the whole expedition, fearlessly remained, several days, among the Indians, endeavoring to reconcile them.

CHAPTER XXVI. 1799 September 18

Approaching the sea, Ellicott found, wrecked upon Fox Point, a schooner of the British navy, commanded by Lieutenant Wooldridge, among whose crew was the celebrated William Augustus Bowles. We left that gifted but bad man in the prison of Madrid, in 1792. Knowing his great influence with the Creeks, the King of Spain often sent persons of his Court to the prison, with offers of military titles and pay, if he would abandon his allegiance to the English interest, join that of Spain, return to the Floridas, and contribute to strengthen the colonies with his warrior-forces. But the proud and unyielding Bowles spurned these offers. The Court then confined him in elegant quarters, and surrounded him with servants, sparkling wines and rich viands,

September 22

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with the hope of engaging his affections; but, this treatment answering no purpose, he was threatened with transportation to the Island of Manilla, in the distant Pacific. Still unyielding, he was ironed, and sent there, in a vessel, where he remained until February, 1797. He was then despatched back to Spain; but, on the way, hearing of the war between that power and England, he escaped at Ascension Island, and reached Sierra Leone, where the English Governor gave him a passage to London.* Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Portland provided for his necessities in a munificent manner. He left England in the schooner in which he was now wrecked, with which he had, for some time, preyed upon the commerce of Panton and Spain, in the Mexican Gulf. General Bowles addressed Ellicott a polite note, inviting him to the wreck, where the latter repaired, and was entertained with kindness. He and Bowles were of mutual assistance to each other, the one supplying the perishing crew with some American stores, and the other giving him charts and valuable directions, in relation to the navigation around the Florida peninsula. Bowles had repeated conversations with Ellicott, in which he avowed his hatred of the Americans, and his hostility to Spain, and declared his determination to visit his vengeance upon the latter, in incessant attacks upon the Florida posts, at the head of the Creeks, whom he termed "My people."

Ellicott sailed from the wreck to St. Marks, where he lodged in the house of the commandant, Captain Portell,

* Du Lac's Voyage dans les deaux Louisianes, pp. 466–470.

and was agreeably entertained by his fascinating wife. Having repaired his schooner, he sailed around the peninsula, and went up the St. Mary's to the camp of the surveyors, where he found all had arrived safe, and where, in conjunction with Minor, he determined the point of the line of 31 degrees, and there erected a large mound. Thus ended this protracted and disagreeable business.*

1800 February 26

* Ellicott's Journal, pp. 180–278. Also his Appendix, p. 83. The Indians who broke up the survey belonged to the towns of Tallase, upon the Tallapoosa, and Ufaula, upon the Chattahoochie.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE AMERICANS IN ALABAMA AND MISSISSIPPI.

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1798 May 10

It has been seen that the Legislature of Georgia promptly repealed the Yazoo act. Congress, with the consent of that State, organized a large portion of the domain, which was conveyed under the Yazoo sale, into a territorial government, embracing the country between the Chattahoochie and Mississippi rivers, extending from the line of 31° to that of 32° 28′. This government was not to impair the rights of Georgia to the soil.

John Adams, now President of the United States, conferred upon Winthrop Sargent the post of Governor of the "Mississippi Territory." John Steele was, at the same time, appointed Secretary, while Thomas Rodney, of Delaware, and John Tilton, of New-Hampshire, were constituted Judges of the Superior Court. Four months after the evacuation of the country by the Spaniards, these officers arrived at Natchez. They found the country in the occupation of the Federal troops, under General Wilkinson. The governor, whose

1799 April

powers were extensive, commenced the organization of his government. He decreed, by proclamation, the formation of the Natchez district into the counties of Adams and Picker-

ing. He established County Courts, which were to be holden quarterly, by Associate Justices. Six thousand inhabitants, including slaves, comprised the population, who lived upon the waters of Bayou Pierre, St. Catharine, Cole, Homochitto, and Buffalo creeks. There was also a settlement at the Walnut Hills, and one upon Big Black. It has been seen what kind of a population lived upon the Tensaw and Tombigby, in 1792. It was now much increased, but was composed of the same kind of people. An advance towards civilization had, however, been made, in that region, by the establishment of a ferry, by Hollinger, an Indian countryman, across the Tombigby, and another, by Samuel Mims, to convey people over the Alabama. The route lay across Nannahubba Island, and, in times of high water, passengers were ferried from one river to the other, the distance of ten miles. Lieutenant McLeary had marched across the country, from Natchez, and had taken possession of Fort St. Stephens, when the Spanish garrison marched out, and dropped down below Ellicott's line.

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1797 October

1799 May 5

This portion of the Mississippi territory was utterly defenceless, entirely isolated, and surrounded by Indian nations, on the north, east and west, while the treacherous Spaniards were just below, at Mobile. To protect it, the Federal Government established a post upon the first bluff below the confluence of the Tombigby and Alabama. Captain Shaumberg, of the 2d regiment, marched from Natchez, with two companies, and built a stockade, with one bastion, which was called Fort Stoddart, and was situated on the site of the present arsenal landing of Mount Vernon.

July

CHAPTER XXVII. 1800 June 4

Governor Sargent issued another proclamation, defining the limits of Washington county, embracing the population upon the Tombigby and Alabama. Of all counties that ever were established, it was by far the most extensive in territory. It extended to the Chattahoochie on the east, and to Pearl river on the west, and was bounded on the south by the line of 31°, and on the north by that of 32° 28′. Twenty counties in Alabama, and twelve in Mississippi, have since been formed out of the territory of the original county of Washington. The people of the territory, becoming dissatisfied with the arbitrary measures of the governor, remonstrated with the President. These things, together with a prodigious increase of population, induced Congress to establish a second grade of territorial government, which allowed a legislature. Four representatives from Adams, four from Pickering, and one from Washington, convened at Natchez. The governor held an unqualified veto power.

December

General Wilkinson deserves to be remembered, for many important public services, among which were the treaties which he made with Indian tribes, and the military organization of new counties. He wrote with astonishing ease, and always expressed himself well. He was, unquestionably, a man of genius, as well as of much usefulness; yet he had always been suspected of allowing personal considerations to control much of his military and official conduct. However, now acting with great zeal and fidelity, he stationed troops at different points on the line of demarkation, from Fort Adams, upon the Mississippi, to Pearl river, and caused, as we have

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seen, Fort Stoddart to be built. While his head-quarters were at Natchez, he made an advantageous treaty with the Chickasaws, obtaining their consent, among other things, to the cutting of a road, to remain as a highway, extending from the Cumberland district to the American settlements of Natchez. He made another treaty, with the Choctaws, for a road from Fort Adams to the Yazoo river. The old boundary between the British and Choctaws was also confirmed by him, and marked anew. He likewise repaired to the distant Oconee, and, near a fort named in honor of him, made a treaty with the Creeks, by which the latter, for valuable considerations, ceded to the United States all the territory east of a line, to run from the High Shoals upon Apalache, thence down the Oconee to its junction with the Ockmulgee, and thence to Ellicott's mound, upon the St. Mary's. The fearless, wise and patriotic agents, Benjamin Hawkins and Andrew Pickens, were associated with General Wilkinson in all these treaties, and, with him, travelled from the Chickasaw Bluff, upon the Mississippi, backwards and forwards, over this Indian world, encountering its dangers, and sharing in mutual hardships.*

1801 October 24

December 17

1802 June 16

Mr. Jefferson, who was now President of the United States, appointed William C. C. Claiborne, Governor of the Mississippi Territory. Governor Sargent retired from office, and never afterwards filled a public station. The new governor, who was descended from an ancient Virginia family, removed to

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 648–681.

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1801

Tennessee when a youth, was a member of the convention which formed the constitution of that State, a Judge of the Supreme Court, and a member of Congress. A man of unquestioned talents, fine address, and strict probity and honor, he could not fail to make a popular and useful officer in the Mississippi wilderness. The Territorial Secretary was Cato West, and the bench of the Superior Court was filled by Daniel Tilton, Peter B. Bruin, and Seth Lewis.

1801 and 1802

The counties of Adams and Pickering being sub-divided into five others, and the name of the latter changed, they were now called Adams, Jefferson, Wilkinson, Claiborne and ——. A code of jurisprudence was adopted, and the seat of government removed six miles east of Natchez, to the town of Washington. Joshua Baker was Speaker of the House, and John Ellis President of the Executive Council or Senate. About this period, Colonel Andrew Marschalk, of Wayne's army, established the "Natchez Gazette," the first paper issued in our country, and, afterwards, was so long engaged in the occupation, issuing different journals, for forty years, that he was styled the "Father of the Mississippi press." It was not long, however, before Timothy and Samuel Terill published the "Mississippi Messenger," at the seat of government, where, also performing the duties of public printers, they published the first Digest of the Territory, compiled by Judge Harry Toulmin.*

* Monette, vol. 2, p. 345. Notes on the War in the South, by Nathaniel H. Claiborne, pp. 91–102.

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Upon the Tombigby and Lake Tensaw, the people still lived without laws, and without the rite of matrimony. For years, the sexes had been in the habit of pairing off, and living together, with the mutual promise of regular marriage, when ministers or magistrates should make their appearance in the country. An amusing incident will here be related, in which a young couple were united by a functionary not hitherto known as participating in such sacred rites. The house of Samuel Mims, a wealthy Indian countryman, was the most spacious in the country, and hither the young and the gay flocked to parties, and danced to the music furnished by the Creoles of Mobile and others, for the country abounded in fiddlers, of high and low degree. Daniel Johnson and Miss Elizabeth Linder had, for some time, loved each other. She was rich and he was poor, and, of course, the parents of the former objected to a *pairing*. On Christmas night, a large party was assembled at "Old Sam Mims'," and the very forests resounded with music and merry peals of laughter. In the midst of the enjoyment, the lovers, in company with several young people, of both sexes, secretly left the house, entered some canoes, paddled down Lake Tensaw, into the Alabama, and arrived at Fort Stoddart, an hour before daylight. Captain Shaumberg, who had risen early to make his egg-nog, was implored to join the lovers in the bonds of matrimony. The proposition astounded the good-natured old German, who protested his ignorance of all such matters, and assured them that he was only a military commandant, having no authority whatever to make people man and wife. They

1800

1800

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entreated, telling him, with truth, that the Federal Government had placed him there as a general protector and regulator of affairs, and that the case before him demanded his sanction and adjustment. After the egg-nog had circulated pretty freely, the commandant placed the lovers before him, and, in a stentorian voice, pronounced the following marital speech: "I, Captain Shaumberg, of the 2d regiment of the United States army, and commandant of Fort Stoddart, do hereby pronounce you man and wife. Go home! behave yourselves—multiply and replenish the Tensaw country!" The happy pair entered their canoes, rowed back to the Boat Yard, and were pronounced, by the whole settlement, "the *best* married people they had known in a long time."*

1800

The Federal Government displayed much wisdom in the establishment of a factory, or trading-house, at St. Stephens. It was well stored with such merchandize as suited the Choctaws, for whom it was particularly designed. It served to create a good feeling with those Indians, and to entice them from the control of Panton and the Spaniards, below the line. Joseph Chambers, a man of a well-cultivated mind, and of business capacity, a native of Salisbury, North-Carolina, was made superintendent of this factory, with an assistant, Thomas H. Williams, also from North-Carolina, who afterwards was Secretary of the Territory, Collector of the port of New-Orleans, and United States Senator from Mississippi.

1802

The Yazoo act had been repealed, the treaty of Madrid

* Conversations with old settlers.

had been made, Ellicott's line had been run, and the Spaniards had been removed; still great difficulties had arisen between Georgia and the Federal Government, in relation to lands granted under the Yazoo act, which the companies, and various purchasers under them, resolutely claimed and defended. Many plans were proposed, for satisfactory adjustment, which produced debate and contention of an angry character. Finally, Albert Gallatin, James Madison and Levi Lincoln, on the part of the government, and James Jackson, Abraham Baldwin and John Milledge, representing Georgia, made a final disposition of the matter. For the sum of one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, Georgia ceded to the United States all the territory within the following boundaries: beginning upon the Mississippi, at the line of 31°, thence continuing up that river to the line of 35°, thence along that line, due east, to Nickajack, thence southward to the mouth of Uchee creek, thence down the Chattahoochie to Ellicott's line, thence along that line due west, to the Mississippi, the place of beginning. The purchase-money was to be paid to Georgia, out of the first net proceeds of the sales of these lands. The United States stipulated to recognize all good claims, to any of this territory, under Spanish and British grants, and also under the act of Georgia, of 1785, creating the county of Bourbon; but it refused to admit any of the Yazoo claims.* The United States now held the right of jurisdiction, and the right of soil, to all the

CHAPTER XXVII.

1802 April 24

* Public Lands, vol. 1, p. 114.

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territory which forms the present States of Alabama and Mississippi. After this compromise, the money paid by the Yazoo companies was made over to the United States. Some of it had been drawn by the purchasers, under the law of Georgia; some of it had been lost, whilst in deposite at the treasury, from which the State had taken the precaution to be saved harmless, having declared, in good time, that the deposite should remain in the treasury at the risk of the depositors. The Yazoo grantees, or those claiming under them, were never suffered to hold lands in Alabama or Mississippi, in virtue of either the Yazoo act or the compromise. They might have held as much as they pleased, in virtue of the stock of five million scrip, created by an act of Congress.

Emigrants flocked to the Mississippi Territory, by various routes, all of which were difficult, and some of them very circuitous. A party set out from North-Carolina, consisting of Thomas Malone, a young clerk in the land office of Raleigh, John Murrel and his family, James Moore, Goodway Myrick, George Nosworthy, Robert Caller, William Murrel, and sixty negroes. With great difficulty they ascended the Blue Ridge, with their wagons, and descended, through its dark gorges, into the valley of the Tennessee. Constructing flat-boats, at Knoxville, they floated down the river to the head of the Muscle Shoals, where they disembarked, at the house of Double-Head, a Cherokee Chief. Placing their effects upon the horses, which had been brought down, by land, from Knoxville, they departed, on foot, for the "Bigby settlements," about St. Stephens, a great distance off, and to which

1801 December

not a solitary direct path led. After a fatiguing march, they reached the residence of Levi Colbert, a celebrated Chickasaw Chief, who gave them the necessary directions. Pursuing their journey, they came upon the Tombigby, at the Cotton Gin, which had, not long before, been erected by the Federal Government, to encourage the Chickasaws in the cultivation of the great staple.

1802 January

Desiring to lessen the fatigues of the long and painful trip, the party constructed two canoes at this point, each forty feet in length, and very large, but of miserable workmanship, being executed with no other tools than axes and grubbing hoes. These they placed in the river, in parallel positions, five feet apart. They were connected by a platform, made of cane, upon which were deposited the effects of the expedition, which were piled up high above the heads of the emigrants, who now sat down in long rows, in the two canoes. A few of the men went by land with the horses, towards St. Stephens, to make preparations for the arrival of the main party. This rude and singular craft, then quite common in savage regions, had proceeded but two miles down the rapid, crooked and swollen stream, when it struck, with great force, against a log, which extended half across the channel, and immediately disappeared. The cane ligament which bound the Siamese canoes, burst asunder, and every soul was washed deep under the waves. Those who rose again, were presently seen struggling with the torrent, amid the wreck, now tossed about in the fury of the waters. Murrel rose, but in his arms was the lifeless body of a daughter. His wife also

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came to the surface, with a babe at her breast, both happily alive. Malone and others, swimming ashore, became active in assisting many of the party in reaching limbs of trees, by extending to them grape-vines and canes. At length, all who survived, huddled upon a small piece of land, surrounded by water.

It was now night. The north wind swept over the gloomy swamp. The ducks, in their rapid flight, whizzed through the air. The wolves howled upon the prairies. The owls screamed and hooted upon the lofty trees. The mighty timber crashed as the angry currents passed by. Such were the unwelcome sounds that fell upon the ears of this miserable party. No succor came. No encouraging voice saluted them. Benumbed with cold, they hovered together to keep alive, shivering and knocking their agitated limbs against each other, while their wet apparel froze fast upon them. Being without fire, they had no way to produce one. It was two miles back to the old camp, and the route lay over thick cane, water and small islands. A resolute young negro man volunteered to find it. He plunged into the low grounds, and strangely made his way to the camp. In the meantime, the helpless pioneers, despairing of his return, bewailed their condition with deep moans and bitter lamentations. Beneath the shadows of one of the darkest nights ever known, they mournfully counted over the missing and the drowned. Two long hours passed away, when the cheerful halloo of the negro was heard afar off. It was answered by a united and sympathetic shout. All eyes were turned in the direction from which the sound

came, and in the darkness was seen an indistinct light, which shone over the tops of the distant canes, like a far-off Aurora Borealis. It was fire, and the noble negro had brought it from the old camp. At length he came, with a cracking, crashing noise, familiar only to the ears of those who have walked through the dense cane-swamps of Alabama.

Fires were kindled with dry cane, and around them sat the sufferers, until the morning sun dispelled the horrid night. It was now ascertained that one white child, and twenty-one negroes, were entombed beneath the tide of the angry Tombigby. The survivors groped their way to the Cotton Gin, without provisions, without hats, without tools, without fire-arms, without money, and with no clothes except those which drooped upon their limbs. They were friendless and alone in a savage country, far from their point of destination, and still further from their native land.

Who saved these people from starvation, and enabled them to reach Washington county, Alabama, after a journey of one hundred and twenty days from North-Carolina? Not the Indians, for one of them stole a negro from the brave Malone, for the return of whom he had to give his watch. Those animals, who cling to their unfortunate masters to the last moment, and are never once guilty of the crime of ingratitude—who hunted rabbits, opossums and raccoons for their famished owners. They saved the lives of these people.

Several years previous to this period, two brothers, from New-England, came to the Boat Yard, upon Lake Tensaw. William Pierce pursued the business of weaving—a profitable

CHAPTER XXVII. 1799 employment in those days. His brother, John, established the first American school in Alabama. There, the high-blood descendants of Lachlan McGillivray—the Taits, Weatherfords and Durants, the aristocratic Linders, the wealthy Mims's, and the children of many others, first learned to read. The pupils were strangely mixed in blood, and their color was of every hue. It was not long before these Yankee brothers engaged

1802 October in mercantile pursuits. They established a cotton gin at the Boat Yard, the first in that part of the country. Six months before this, Abram Mordecai, an Indian trader, procuring the consent of the Creek Chiefs and the approbation of Col. Hawkins, had established a cotton gin at Weatherford's race-track, on the first eastern bluff below the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa. It was built by Lyons & Barnett, of Georgia, who brought their tools, gin saws and other materials, from that State, on pack-horses. The same enterprising mechanics also built the one for the Pierces, and another, at McIntosh Bluff, upon the Tombigby.

Abram Mordecai was a queer fellow. He traded extensively with the Indians, exchanging his goods for pink-root,

1802 hickory-nut oil, and peltries of all kinds. These he carried to New-Orleans and Mobile in boats, and to Pensacola and Augusta on pack-horses. The hickory-nut oil was a luxury with French and Spanish epicures. It was manufactured by the Indians, in a simple manner—by boiling the cracked nuts in water, and skimming off the oil as it floated on the surface. Mordecai bought cotton of the Indians in small quantities, ginned it, and carried it to Augusta on pack-horses, in bags

much smaller than those of the present day. He was a dark-eyed Jew, and amorous in his disposition. Tourculla, (Capt. Isaacs,) the Chief of the Coosawdas, hearing of his intrigues with a married squaw, approached his house with twelve warriors, knocked him down, thrashed him with poles until he lay insensible, cut off his ear, and left him to the care of his wife. They also broke up his boat, and burned down his gin-house. A pretty squaw was the cause of the destruction of the first cotton gin in Alabama.*

General Bowles, quitting the island where Ellicott found him, boldly advanced into the Creek nation, disturbed the mild and beneficial influence which Hawkins had began to engender, declared his eternal hostility to Spain and the United States, and became an object of dread to all quiet minds, and a terror to all interests against which he acted. Among other outrages, he headed a party of Indians, advanced upon St. Marks, captured the fort, and plundered the store of Panton, Leslie & Co. Hawkins united with the Spanish authorities in a scheme to rid the country of a common enemy. A large secret reward was offered for his capture. A great feast was 1803
given by the Indians at the town of Tuskegee, where the old French Fort Toulouse stood, to which Bowles and the Miccasoochy Chiefs were invited. They attended, and during the feast the unsuspecting freebooter was suddenly seized by concealed Indians, who sprang upon him, securely pinioned him,

* Conversations with Lacklan Durant, James Moore, Abram Mordecai, and many other old traders.

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and placed him in a canoe full of armed warriors. They then rapidly rowed down the river. Hawkins and John Forbes, of Pensacola, were in the town, but were concealed, until Sam McNac, a half-breed, had caused Bowles to be made a prisoner. Arriving at a point in the present Dallas county, the canoe was tied up, the prisoner conducted upon the bank, and a guard set over him. In the night the guard fell asleep, when Bowles gnawed his ropes apart, crept down the bank, got into the canoe, quietly paddled across the river, entered a thick cane swamp, and fled. At the break of day, the astonished Indians

1803

arose in great confusion, but fortunately saw the canoe on the opposite side, which Bowles had foolishly neglected to shove off. Swimming over to that point, they got upon his track, and by the middle of the day once more made him a prisoner. He was conveyed to Mobile, and from thence to Havana, where, after a few years, he died in the dungeons of Moro Castle.*

While the inhabitants of the eastern section were disturbed by Bowles, a notorious robber named Mason, was a terror to the people of the western part of the Mississippi Territory. During the occupancy of the country by the Spaniards, the lair of this remorseless human tiger was in a cave upon the Ohio, where he secreted his banditti, and the booty which he had acquired in a long and bloody havoc upon the public. He had now stationed himself upon the highway, between

* Conversations with old traders, who were present when Bowles was captured. See also Indian Affairs, vol. 1.

New-Orleans and Natchez, with his two sons and their desperate associates. The Western people boated their produce down the Mississippi—sold it in New-Orleans, purchased horses, and returned by this route to Natchez, and from thence to Nashville, laden with goods and money. This, therefore, offered the most extensive theatre for the operations of Mason and his banditti. Hence his sanguinary outrages were perpetrated one day in the Chickasaw nation, and the next upon Pearl river. At length, the people in all parts of the country were aroused by his inhuman murders, and every hand was raised against him. Governor Claiborne declared him an outlaw, and offered a large reward for his head. The proclamation was widely distributed, and fell into the hands of Mason; and while he was reading it, with a smile of scorn and contempt, a blow from behind felled him to the earth. His sons were out upon an expedition, and he was alone with two of his men, who, tempted by the reward, now cut off his head, and bore it to Washington, to Governor Claiborne. Fortunately, on account of a temporary lack of funds in the treasury, the reward was not paid. In the meantime, hundreds flocked to the governor's quarters to see the head of Mason, and it was recognized by many who had seen him. Among others, went two young men, whose respectable father Mason and his gang had waylaid and robbed, while they were with him. They immediately recognized his two associates, who brought in the head. These men were thrown into prison, condemned and hung, and the reward

1808

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was thus saved to the territory, while Mason was also out of the way.*

Down to this period, no Protestant preacher had ever raised his voice, to remind the Tombigby and Tensaw settlers of their duty to the MOST HIGH. Hundreds, born and bred in the wilderness, and now adult men and women, had never even seen a preacher. The mysterious and eccentric Lorenzo

1803 April

Dow, one day suddenly appeared at the Boat Yard. He came from Georgia, across the Creek nation, encountering its dangers, almost alone. He proclaimed the truths of the gospel here, to a large audience, crossed over the Alabama, and preached two sermons to the "Bigby settlers," and went from thence to the Natchez settlements, where he also exhorted the people to "turn from the error of their ways." He then visited the Cumberland region and Kentucky, and came back

1804 December 27

to the Tombigby, filling his appointments to the very day. Again plunging into the Creek nation, this holy man of God once more appeared among the people of Georgia.†

As early as the summer of 1799, the Rev. Tobias Gibson, a Methodist missionary, from South-Carolina, visited the Natchez settlements, by way of the Cumberland and Ohio—organized religious societies in Washington and its vicinity, and then departed from the wilderness. In the fall of 1800,

* Monette, vol. 2, pp. 351–353. Conversations with aged persons in Washington county, Alabama.

† "Lorenzo Dow's complete works," pp. 76–101.

he again appeared, now as a missionary from the Tennessee Conference, and formed societies from Bayou Pierre to the Spanish line, numbering, collectively, two hundred church members. After performing the most arduous labor in the cause of our Divine Master, for three years, in this rude and savage land, he died. The Rev. Mr. Brown, another Methodist missionary, came from Tennessee in 1802, and brought with him, to the Natchez country, a mind stored with a knowledge of science, and a heart fervent with piety. He labored in Natchez until 1807. Montgomery and Hall, two reverend gentlemen of the Presbyterian order, also preached in Natchez for several years. The Baptists, too, sent a "laborer into the vineyard," in the person of the Rev. David Cooper, who arrived in 1802. Dr. Cloud, of the Episcopal Church, was also sent to "proclaim the glad tidings." The efforts of these various sects were highly salutary, serving to soften and refine the people, and to banish much sin and vice from the worst region that ministers ever entered.* CHAPTER XXVII.

1803 March 3

Congress established regulations respecting the English, Spanish and Georgia grants. Many of the inhabitants claimed extensive tracts of land under them. A land office was established at the town of Washington, and a board of commissioners formed, composed of Thomas Rodney and Robert Williams, who proceeded to consider all claims arising under these grants, in a district extending from Pearl river to the Mississippi. They continued in office until the 3d July, 1807,

July 9

* Monette, vol. 2, pp. 354–357.

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having recorded two thousand and ninety claims. Their acts were sanctioned by the President. Another board of commissioners, consisting of Joseph Chambers, Epham Kirby and

1804 February 2

Robert Carter Nicholas, was formed at St. Stephens, upon the Tombigby, whose district extended from Pearl river eastward. They adjourned on the 21st December, 1805, having admitted to record two hundred and seventy-six claims, which the President likewise ratified. The inhabitants, living upon public lands about the time of Ellicott's survey, were afterwards allowed, by the government, a section of land; and those who came just before the board of commissioners was established, received a quarter section. Isaac Briggs was

March 27

surveyor-general. The Territorial government was made to extend to the southern boundary of the State of Tennessee; but the extinguishment of the Indian title had been obtained to no portion, except a strip seventy miles long, above and below Natchez, and extending back twenty miles, and the small district upon the Tombigby. The balance of the territory was occupied by the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws and Choctaws.

Colonel James Caller, of North-Carolina, was one of the first representatives to the Legislative Council, from the county of Washington, Alabama. The first County Court of this

1808

county was held at McIntosh Bluff, where John Caller, Cornelius Rain and John Johnson presided, with great frontier dignity. These Justices had no code before them, and coming from different States, decided cases according to the laws of their native land, so that most amusing differences of opinion

often prevailed. This was the case all over the territory; but the Justices from Georgia holding the laws of South-Carolina, North-Carolina, Virginia, and the whole of New-England in great contempt, contended that the practice in the State from which they came, was alone correct. With their usual success, they generally managed to carry their points.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

GOVERNOR TROUP, OR THE McINTOSH FAMILY—INCIDENTS IN THE MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY.

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At the close of our last chapter, it was stated that the first American court held in Alabama was at McIntosh Bluff, which is situated upon the western bank of the Tombigby, between its confluence with the Alabama and the town of St. Stephens. Connected with this bluff, there is, to us, a pleasing historical reminiscence. Alabama has the honor of being the birth-place of George M. Troup, late Governor of Georgia, and who is one of the most vigorous and expressive political and epistolary writers of the age. His grandfather, Capt. John McIntosh, the Chief of the McIntosh clan, was long attached to the army of West Florida, and his valuable services were rewarded, by the King of England, with the grant of McIntosh Bluff, and extensive tracts of land upon the Mississippi. He had a son, who was also a British officer, and a daughter, a native of Georgia. The latter, while on a visit to England, married an officer of the royal army, named Troup. She sailed from England to Mobile, and, arriving at the latter place, entered a barge, and went up the Tombigby river to

the residence of her father, at McIntosh Bluff, where, in the wilds of Alabama, Governor Troup was born, in September, 1780. She had an uncle, named Roderick McIntosh, or "Old Rory," as he was familiarly called, a most extraordinary character—a kind of Don Quixote, old Arab Chief, Scottish and Irish Chieftain, the Saladin and Cœur de Leon of chivalry. He was long an officer of his majesty's army, in Georgia and East Florida. Thus the father, brother, uncle and husband of this lady, the mother of George M. Troup, were all British officers, before the commencement of the revolution. Being removed from the scenes of that revolution, none of them may be said to have taken sides against it, except "Old Rory," who, during the war, was frequently in Georgia and East Florida, and, although far advanced in years, was, at all times, ready to storm any whig fortress that might present itself. Before he came to America, he had been the champion of his native glen, in Scotland, and was strongly attached to the Stuart family. In 1777, he was over sixty-five years of age. He was tall. His form was admirably proportioned for strength and activity. His complexion was ruddy, and his hair was white, frizzled and bushy. In walking, or rather striding, his step ordinarily embraced the space of four feet. He was not rich, but lived in ease and comfort, when not engaged in the actual service of the King. He cared nothing for money. During the Spanish occupation of East Florida, he sold a drove of cattle in St. Augustine, and, receiving payment in specie, placed it in a bag, on his horse, and rode towards home. On the route, the canvass gave way, and

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many of the dollars fell upon the path. He secured those which were left, and pursued his journey, giving himself no concern about those upon the ground. Some years afterwards, being in want of money, he recollected his loss, went to the place, picked up as many dollars as he wanted, and returned home. He was fond of dogs. He once laid a considerable bet that he could hide a doubloon, at three miles distance, and that his setter, which he had taught to take his back track, would find it. *Luath* presently went off on his trail, was gone some time, and returned panting, with his tongue out, but came without the doubloon. "*Treason!*" vociferated "Rory," and he walked rapidly to the place where he had hidden the money. He turned over the log, and found that Luath had torn up the earth in search of it. A man was seen, some distance off, engaged in the splitting of rails. Without ceremony, "Rory" drew his dirk, advanced upon him, and swore he would put him to death if he did not give up the doubloon. The man, very much alarmed, immediately handed him the coin, observing that, having seen McIntosh put something under the log, he had gone to the place, and found the gold. "Rory," tossing him back the money, said "take it, vile caitiff; it was not the pelf, but the honor of my dog, I cared for."

In 1778, a portion of the garrison of St. Augustine, under General Provost, marched, by land, to join a force from New-York, to attack Savannah, then in the occupation of the whigs. "Rory" was a captain of light infantry, upon this expedition. On the march, they passed near a small whig

fort, commanded by Captain, afterwards Colonel John McIntosh. Early one morning, when "Rory" had made rather free with the morning glass, he insisted on sallying out to summon the fort to surrender. His friends were unable to restrain him, and he presently advanced, with claymore in hand, followed by his faithful negro, Jim. Approaching the gate of the fort, he said, in an audible and commanding tone, "Surrender, you miscreants! how dare you presume to resist his majesty's arms!" Captain McIntosh knew him, and, forbidding any of his men to fire, threw open the gate, and said, "Walk in, cousin, and take possession." "No!" said Rory, with great indignation, "I will not trust myself with such vermin, but I order you to surrender." A rifle was fired at him, the ball of which passed through his face. He fell, but immediately recovered. He retreated backwards, flourishing his sword. His servant, seeing his face covered with blood, and hearing the shot falling around him, implored his master to face about, and run for his life. He replied, "Run, yourself, poor slave, but I am of a race that never runs." In this manner, he backed safely into the lines, flourishing his sword in defiance, and keeping his face to the enemy.

Upon a certain occasion, "Rory" rode from St. Augustine to Savannah, and applied to his friend, Couper, for money to defray his expenses from that place to Charleston. Couper saw that something of an extraordinary character agitated him, and with difficulty learned the cause of his excitement. "That reptile in Charleston, Gadsden, has insulted my country, and I will put him to death." "What has he done?"

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said Couper. "Why," said Rory, "on being asked how he meant to fill up his wharf, in Charleston, he replied, 'by imported Scotchmen, who were fit for nothing better.'" With great difficulty, the friends of Rory prevailed on him to return home.

It would be an endless task to enumerate all the anecdotes in our possession, in relation to this remarkable Highlander, the grand-uncle of Governor Troup. He was often in the Creek nation, and was the father of Colonel William McIntosh, a half-breed Muscogee, of high character, whom the Upper Creeks killed, for his friendship to the Georgians. "Rory" always dressed in the Highland costume. He was perfectly fearless in spirit, while his broadsword, wielded by one of the most powerful arms, caused streams of human blood to flow, in many desperate engagements. Although engaged in the rebellion of '45, King George was nevertheless much attached to him, and "Rory" was ready to die for that monarch, at any moment.

There was another branch of the McIntosh family—all, however, close connections of Governor Troup, by consanguinity—who were conspicuous whigs in the revolution, citizens of Georgia, and men who occupied high ranks in the army. One of these was General Lachlan McIntosh, who came out to Georgia with Oglethorpe, when a little boy, and the other, Colonel John McIntosh, who also fought for liberty throughout the war. In later times, Colonel John S. McIntosh, one of the same family, became a distinguished American officer, was in the wars of 1813 and 1814, and recently,

in the Mexican war, was wounded at Resaca de la Palma, and afterwards, at Molino del Rey, and died in the city of Mexico. The McIntosh family was composed of people of marked character, all of whom were born to command. The blood always exhibited itself, even when mixed with that of the Indian. After the revolution, the father of Governor Troup established himself in Georgia, became an American citizen, and was much esteemed and respected, to the day of his death. His body is interred at Belleville, McIntosh county, and that of his wife in the family vault of General Lachlan McIntosh, at Savannah.* CHAPTER XXVIII.

Napoleon Bonaparte had turned his eagle eye to the rich province of Louisiana, and it was ceded by Spain to France. He contemplated its occupation, with a large army, and probably entertained designs of conquest against portions of the United States; but, becoming deeply involved in wars with the whole of Europe, he reluctantly relinquished these intentions, and ceded Louisiana to the United States, for sixty millions of francs. Governor Claiborne, with a large number of emigrants, who had already flocked to Natchez from all parts of the Union, for the purpose of occupying Louisiana, sailed down the Mississippi, with Wilkinson and his forces, and took formal possession of the city of New-Orleans, in behalf of the United States. He had been appointed the Governor of the Louisiana Territory. He left the people of the Mississippi Territory, duly impressed with a deep sense of obligation for

1801 March 21

1803 April 30

December 20

* MS. notes, in my possession.

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his valuable public services. Cato West, the Territorial Secretary, discharged the executive duties until his successor arrived.

1804 March 27

The distance of Natchez from the Tombigby was so great, that Congress authorized the President to appoint an additional Superior Court Judge, for the benefit of the people settled upon that river. The Hon. Harry Toulmin was selected. He was born at Taunton, in England, the 7th April, 1766, and descended from a learned and respectable family. He became a pastor of the Unitarian church, at Chowbert, in Lancashire, in 1788, where he occupied a prominent position, officiating before a congregation of a thousand hearers. Becoming an object of suspicion to the government, it determined to silence not only his efforts, but those of every other person who indulged in an independent expression of opinion. Frequently threatened with personal injury, and often surrounded by mobs, who extended their violence to his private residence, as well as his church, Mr. Toulmin determined to seek a land where all religious opinions are tolerated. Landing at Norfolk, Virginia, he proceeded to Winchester, where he had the misfortune to lose two of his children. The year following, he became the President of Transylvania University, of Lexington, the duties of which he discharged for four years. He was then Secretary of State, of Kentucky, for the long period of eight years, and wrote most of the public documents of that day. Having pursued the study of law, and attained great proficiency in it, he compiled a code of laws for Kentucky, in the most satisfactory manner. A fine writer, an excellent scholar, an amiable man, and a delightful

fire-side companion, Judge Toulmin won upon the hearts of his friends, and engaged the confidence of the public. He came to Alabama, by way of New-Orleans, settled at a cantonment near Fort Stoddart, and afterwards removed to the court house, which he called Wakefield, in memory of Goldsmith's good vicar. His first court was held in the fall of 1804, he having been diligently engaged, for several months previous, in arranging the judicial department of Washington county. There was no newspaper here, and Thomas Malone, the clerk, advertised libels against boats, for smuggling, in a New-Orleans paper, published by Bradford and Anderson. CHAPTER XXVIII.

1804 Fall

Fort Stoddart was now a prominent post. Captain Shaumberg retired from the command, which was assumed by Captain Schuyler, of New-York, who had the command of eighty men. Lieutenant Reuben Chamberlain, now of Mobile, arrived at this station in June, as pay-master. Edmund Pendleton Gaines was then a lieutenant, under Captain Schuyler. Here the Court of Admiralty was held, for it was a port of entry.*

1805 January 26

Robert Williams, of North-Carolina, appointed to succeed Governor Claiborne, arrived at the town of Washington, Mississippi, and partook of a public dinner, at which the Honorable Thomas Rodney presided. His staff consisted of William Scott, William B. Shields, William Woolridge

* I have consulted some biographical notices of the life and character of Judge Toulmin—Conversations with Major Reuben Chamberlain, of Mobile, and Thomas Malone.

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and John C. Carmichael, the first with the rank of colonel, and the others with that of major.

Congress, having constituted the country upon the Tombigby a revenue district, known as the "district of Mobile," the most vigilant and annoying system of searches commenced. The people, with just cause, considered it an unnecessary restriction upon a weak and defenceless territory. Not only did Spain exact heavy duties, at the port of Mobile, upon American merchandize, destined for the American settlements above, but the Federal Government, which ought rather to have fostered and protected her wilderness-children, also exacted duties from them, at Fort Stoddart. These arbitrary revenue laws of Spain and the United States were applied, with equal severity, also, to whatever the persecuted settlers of Alabama chose to *export*—so that a Tombigby planter, sending his produce to New-Orleans, by way of Mobile, and exchanging it there for goods and supplies, paid, by the time he reached home, an *ad valorem* duty of twenty-five per cent. Vessels were required to pass under the guns of Fort Charlotte, and to submit to insult and search. The Spaniards valued the goods themselves, and imposed a duty of twelve and a half per cent. The
1805 Federal Government remonstrated with Spain, in an extensive correspondence, but, we think, with a very ill grace, while restrictions were imposed by herself, upon her own people, at the port of Fort Stoddart.

When the line of demarcation was established by Ellicott and the Spanish commissioners, those inhabitants—chiefly

Spaniards, old British subjects and tories—living in the Natchez district, retired below the line, within Spanish jurisdiction, as the reader has already seen. Notwithstanding that General Wilkinson then entered into a convention with the Governor of Louisiana, for the mutual surrender of deserters, and both sides adopted wise measures to prevent border disturbances, yet much prejudice and ill-feeling continued to exist between the American settlers and Spaniards. No serious outbreaks, however, occurred, until after Louisiana was surrendered to the United States. A controversy then arose, in relation to a strip of country lying between the line of 31° on the north, the Bayou Iberville on the south, the Mississippi on the west, and Pearl river on the east. This had been organized, by the Spaniards, into a district, called the "Government of Baton Rouge," and placed under the control of Don Carlos de Grandpre. It comprised the posts of Baton Rouge, Manchac, Thompson's Creek, and Bayou Sara. A controversy also arose, in relation to the country bounded by the Perdido on the east, Pearl river on the west, the line of 31° on the north, and the Gulf of Mexico on the south, which was the Spanish "Mobile district." The United States contended that these two districts should have been surrendered at the same time that the Island of New-Orleans and the country west of the Mississippi were given up; that Bonaparte, in his treaty with Spain, acquired the whole of the Louisiana which belonged to France before 1762; that, when subsequently he ceded Louisiana to the United States, he ceded all which he had acquired from Spain, and, of course,

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the Baton Rouge and Mobile districts were included, for they once belonged to French Louisiana. Spain met these arguments, by assuming the positions, that, just before the close of the American revolution, she became herself engaged in a war with England; that she took from Great Britain, by conquest, the Baton Rouge district, and that of Mobile, which was then a part of West Florida; that, in 1783, Great Britain confirmed these to her by treaty; that, since then, she (Spain) had always considered these districts as a part of Spanish West Florida; that Bonaparte only ceded to the United States Louisiana, not embracing, of course, the Baton Rouge and Mobile districts.

The people of the Mississippi Territory, believing that the American government was right in this controversy, were impatient to occupy the rich lands in the Baton Rouge district, and were loud and open in their denunciations of the Spaniards. Border troubles commenced. Lieutenant John Glasscock, a subject of Spain, placed himself at the head of

1805 August 12

twelve Spanish light-horse, crossed over the line, two miles, into the Mississippi Territory, seized William Flannagin and his wife, and forcibly carried them fifteen miles, into Spanish territory. Here, finding that they were not the persons whom the authorities wanted, he turned them loose, to make their way back on foot, having retained their horse. This first open violation of American rights was followed up by one more serious. Many citizens of the Union had settled already in the Baton Rouge district, while others lived near the line, ready to enter it when a suitable opportunity offered.

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Among the most conspicuous of the latter class were Nathan Reuben and Samuel Kemper, sons of a Baptist preacher, who emigrated from Loudon, Virginia, to Ohio. They came to the Mississippi Territory in 1803, and established themselves at and near Pinckneyville, within a few miles of the Spanish line. Men of strong frontier sense, with a pleasing appearance and fine address, the Kempers were well suited to the times, and were dreaded by the Spaniards. They had acquired lands in the Baton Rouge district, under Spanish grants, which they knew would enrich them, could the country once be occupied by Americans. Beginning to exert their influence, with an end to the expulsion of the Spaniards, Governor Grandpre determined to seize and imprison them. He despatched a company of kidnappers to the house of Nathan Kemper. They arrived there at 12 o'clock at night. 1805 September 8 They were Lewis Ritchie, Minor Butler, Abraham Horton, James Horton, Dr. Bomer, Henry Flowers, Jr., and —— McDermot, who were in disguise, and were citizens of the Mississippi Territory, but accomplices in the schemes of Grandpre. Seven negroes were also in company with them. The party were armed with guns and clubs, and provided with ropes. They forced the door, entered the room in which Reuben Kemper was sleeping, dragged him from his bed, beat him with clubs, and then tied him. Some of them, at the same time, dragged Nathan Kemper from the bed, in which he was sleeping with his wife, who received some blows from their clubs, in the scuffle, one of the kidnappers crying out, "If she utters another word, I will kill her!"

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Nathan was also severely beaten, and well secured with cords. The brothers begged to know what they had done. A voice answered, "You have ruined the Spanish country!" The party gagged them, by placing large sassafras roots in their mouths. Then, tying a line around their necks, they were made to run before the horses of the kidnappers, and were conducted to the Spanish line. At the same time, a branch of this party had entered the tavern of Samuel Kemper, at Pinckneyville, the proprietor of which they seized, beat with clubs, gagged and pinioned. In running along, by the side of a horseman, this prisoner, unable to keep up, fell

1805 September 3

to the earth, and was cruelly dragged an hundred yards, by a rope around his neck. He, too, was conducted to the Spanish line, where all three of the unhappy brothers were delivered to Captain Solomon Alston, who conveyed them, with a guard, to the Tunica Landing, where they were placed in a boat, also guarded, which was ordered to transport them to Baton Rouge. In the meantime, a Dr. Towles, who had been visiting a patient, hearing of the outrage early in the morning, galloped his horse to Point Coupee, informed Lieutenant Wilson, the commandant at that place, who, with a file of soldiers, rescued the Kempers and captured the Spanish guard. They were all sent to the town of Washington, and the affair was legally investigated by Judge Rodney, and the parties were discharged. It, however, created much excitement, and Governor Williams formed a strong patrol, composed of two companies, at the head of which was Colonel John Ellis. After some sharp correspondence between the

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governor and Colonel Grandpre, the people became quiet, and border troubles ceased for a while. However, this shameful treatment of American citizens produced some excitement in Washington city, and John Randolph, of the committee of foreign relations, reported a bill, for the raising an army to repel and punish Spanish aggressors. But the friends of Jefferson's administration refused to adopt it.*

Nothing but an Indian trail led from the Oconee to the Alabama river, at Lake Tensaw. The houses of accommodation were few, kept by Indians and half-breeds, and were of the most indifferent kind. None of the rivers were provided with ferry-boats, nor were the creeks bridged. The Federal Government, desiring to open a better avenue to the new country, obtained, from a delegation of thirty Creek Chiefs and warriors, then at Washington city, the right of using a horse-path through their country, along which the Chiefs agreed to establish ferries and bridges, and to open good houses of accommodation. The Cherokees, at Tellico Block-house, granted the right of a mail route, from Knoxville to New-Orleans, by way of the Tombigby. The United States also acquired more territory from the Chickasaws, who ceded about three hundred and fifty thousand acres, lying in the bend of the Tennessee, a very small portion of which, in the shape of a triangle, fell into Alabama, and was afterwards formed into the county of Madison. At Mount Dexter, the

1805
November 14

October 7

July 23

November 16

* American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. 5, pp. 103–124. Also historical MS. notes, in the possession of Mr. E. T. Wood, of Mobile.

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Choctaws ceded to the government five millions of acres, commencing at the Cut-Off, at a point half way between the Alabama and Tombigby, running north to the Choctaw corner, west to Fulluctabuna Old Fields, thence across the Tombigby to the Mississippi settlements, thence south to Ellicott's line, and east along that line, back to the Cut-Off.*

Thus the whole southern portion of the present State of Mississippi was thrown open to the Americans. The new purchase was soon formed into three counties—Marion, Wayne and Greene. A population from Georgia and Tennessee poured into the magnificent forest north of the Tennessee, about "Hunt's Spring," which had been obtained from the Chickasaws, as just mentioned. The population of the Mississippi Territory had much increased, Natchez had become a large town, where boats going down and up the great river landed and traded, while the crews engaged in fights, drunkenness, gambling, and all kinds of debaucheries. It was the greatest thoroughfare in the whole forest world, and was decidedly a most abandoned place.

The subject of education was not neglected, and Jefferson College had been established at Ellicott's Spring, in the vicinity of the town of Washington. Many improvements, in the way of houses, farms and new towns, gave the territory an air of civilization.

* Indian Affairs and Land Laws.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE ARREST OF AARON BURR, IN ALABAMA.

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AARON BURR—a descendant of a learned ancestry, a native of New-Jersey, a graduate of Princeton, a whig colonel of the Revolution, a lawyer of ability, a leading member of the New-York Legislature, a States' Attorney-General, a Senator of the United States, a Vice-President of the Union—at length found himself nominated, by the republican party of New-York, as a candidate for the office of Governor of that State. Among his most formidable enemies was Alexander Hamilton, whom he, not long after, killed in a duel. The tide of public opinion set strongly against him, in consequence of this unfortunate affair, and he was swept into exile upon the sea-coast of Carolina. He, however, returned to Washington, and presided over the Senate, until the expiration of his term of office, as Vice-President.

1804 July 11

1805 March 4

A warrant, for the killing of Hamilton, in the hands of the officers of justice, prevented Burr from returning to New-York. He had, likewise, become unpopular with the friends of Jefferson, with whom he had been a close competitor for the Presidency. Of course, he had no friends among the prominent federalists,

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against whom he had always acted. These things combined to make him long for brighter prospects, in the South-West. In 1805, he travelled through Kentucky and Tennessee, enjoying the society of Clay and Jackson, besides that of many other distinguished persons. From January until August of the following year, his hours were passed in Washington and Philadelphia, consumed in revolving schemes, the consummation of which, he believed, would elevate him above his fallen condition.

Burr had purchased a portion of the lands granted by the King of Spain to Baron Bastrop, which lay between the Sabine and Natchitoches. His designs appear to have been the colonization of these lands, the expulsion of the Spaniards, the conquest of Texas, and, ultimately, of Mexico. To effect these things, it was necessary to raise a large armed force, in the West. He believed, also, that a war would soon ensue between the United States and Spain, and he expected, in that event, to co-operate with General Wilkinson, who had charge of the Western and Southern army. Upon his deathbed, Burr denied that he had any intention of dismembering the Union, and, as he had then arrived at the age of eighty, and outlived both his descendants and his reputation, it would seem that there was no inducement to conceal any act of his life.

1806 Summer

Burr again made his appearance in the Western country, where his plausibility captivated the people, who made active preparations to carry out his designs. Boats were constructed and stored with provisions and concealed arms. General

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Wilkinson was suspected of having countenanced his enterprise. Rumors had reached President Jefferson, that Burr was raising troops for the purpose of dismembering the Union. He caused him to be arrested at Lexington, where Clay appeared in his defence. Burr was discharged, for the want of sufficient evidence to convict him. Then, descending the Cumberland river, and the Mississippi, with thirteen boats and sixty men, he was met, some miles above Natchez, by Colonel F. L. Claiborne, whom the Governor of the Mississippi Territory, influenced by the proclamations of Jefferson, had despatched, at the head of a detachment of two hundred and seventy-five men, for the purpose of arresting him. Burr surrendered his boats and men, and proceeded, with Claiborne, to the town of Washington, once more a prisoner of the United States. The people, generally, sympathized with him, and thought him much wronged. He was honored with balls and parties in Adams county. He found no difficulty in giving bonds, in the sum of ten thousand dollars, for his appearance at court. When it convened, he appeared, with his counsel, and demanded a release from his bonds, as the Attorney-General stated that he was satisfied his offences did not come within the jurisdiction of Mississippi, and insisted on his being sent to a competent tribunal. The motion of the Attorney-General was sustained, and Burr's application for a discharge was overruled by the Judges. The next morning the prisoner did not make his appearance in the court room, and it was soon ascertained that he had fled. A troop of cavalry was despatched in pursuit of him, while the governor

1806 December 6

1807 January

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distributed proclamations over the country, which promised a reward of two thousand dollars for his apprehension. His destination was unknown.

* * * * * *

During a cold night in February, two young men—Nicholas Perkins, a lawyer, and Thomas Malone, clerk of the court—were sitting in their cabin, in the village of Wakefield, Washington county, Alabama. Before them was a backgammon board, and they were absorbed in the playing of that game. The hour was ten o'clock. The distant tramp of horses arrested their attention. Two travellers presently rode up to the door, one of whom inquired for the tavern. It was pointed out to him, and then he asked the road to Colonel Hinson's. Perkins informed him that the route lay over difficult paths, the place was seven miles distant, and a dangerous creek intervened. The fire, being replenished with pine, now threw a light in the face of the traveller who propounded these questions. His countenance appeared to Perkins exceedingly interesting. His eyes sparkled like diamonds, while he sat upon his splendid horse, caparisoned with a fine saddle and new holsters. His dress was that of a plain farmer, but beneath his coarse pantaloons protruded a pair of exquisitely shaped boots. His striking features, with the strange mixture of his apparel, aroused the suspicions of Perkins, and, no sooner had the two travellers ridden from the door, than he said to Malone, with the most earnest gesticulation, "That is Aaron Burr. I have read a description of him in the proclamation. I cannot be mistaken. Let us

1807 February 18

follow him to Hinson's, and take measures for his arrest." Malone declined to accompany him, remonstrating, at the same time, upon the folly of pursuing a traveller, at such a late hour of the night, and upon the basis of the merest conjecture. Perkins now rushed to the cabin of Theodore Brightwell, the sheriff, and awoke him. Presently these men were seen riding off with a rapid pace. The night was bitter cold, and the pine trees of the forest sadly moaned. CHAPTER XXIX. 1807 February 18

The travellers strangely made their way to the residence of Hinson, where they arrived about half past eleven o'clock. The moon had just risen, and enabled the lady of the house, whose husband was absent, to see that they were travellers, by their saddle-bags and tin cups, as she timidly peeped through a small window. She made no answer to their "halloo," but quietly closed the window. The strangers alighted and went into the kitchen, where a cheerful fire was yet burning. Perkins and the sheriff soon came in sight of the house. The former, recollecting that he had already been seen at Wakefield, thought it politic to remain in the woods, until Brightwell could go in the house, make the necessary discoveries, and return to him. Mrs. Hinson was a relative of the sheriff, and, recognizing his voice, felt relieved, by his appearance, from the fears she had felt, in consequence of the strangers having come at such a late hour of the night. Brightwell repaired to the kitchen, and discovered one of these men sitting by the fire, with his head down, while a handkerchief partially concealed his face. His companion had gone to the stable, to assist a negro in taking care of the

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horses. It was not long before they went into the main building, where the hostess had hastily prepared supper. While the elder traveller was eating, he engaged her in a sprightly conversation, in which he often thanked her for her kindness. At the same time, he cast the keenest glances at

1807 February 18

the sheriff, who stood before the fire, evidently with the endeavor to read his thoughts and intentions. After he had finished his supper, he arose from the table, bowed to the lady, walked back to the kitchen and took his seat by the fire. Mrs. Hinson then turned to his companion, and said, "Have I not, sir, the honor of entertaining Colonel Burr, the gentleman who has just walked out?" He gave her no answer, but rose from the table, much embarrassed, and also repaired to the kitchen. Her question had been prompted by Brightwell. In the morning, after breakfast, the elder traveller sought an interview with the lady, took occasion

February 19

again to thank her for her hospitable attentions, regretted the absence of her husband, inquired the route to Pensacola, and rode off with his companion.

Perkins remained at his post in the woods, shivering with cold, and wondering why Brightwell did not return to him. His patience at length became exhausted, and, believing the person he was pursuing to be really Burr, he mounted his horse, and rode rapidly to the house of Joseph Bates, Sr., at Nannahubba Bluff. Procuring from that gentleman a negro and a canoe, he paddled down the river, and arrived at Fort Stoddart at the breaking of day. Rushing into the fort, and acquainting Captain Edmund P. Gaines with his suspicions,

the latter made instant preparations to take the road. After a hasty breakfast, about the rising of the sun, Gaines, placing himself at the head of a file of mounted soldiers, rode off with Perkins. About nine o'clock that morning they met the two mysterious travellers, on the descent of a hill, near a wolf-pen, at the distance of two miles from the residence of Hinson. The following conversation immediately ensued:

GAINES.—I presume, sir, I have the honor of addressing Colonel Burr.

STRANGER.—I am a traveller in the country, and do not recognize your right to ask such a question.

GAINES.—I arrest you, at the instance of the Federal Government.

STRANGER.—By what authority do you arrest a traveller upon the highway, on his own private business?

GAINES.—I am an officer of the army. I hold in my hands the proclamations of the President and the Governor, directing your arrest.

STRANGER.—You are a young man, and may not be aware of the responsibilities which result from arresting travellers.

GAINES.—I am aware of the responsibilities, but I know my duty.

The stranger now became exceedingly animated, and, with much eloquence and force, denounced these proclamations, as documents which had emanated in malevolent feeling, without any just foundation, and endeavored again to frighten the young officer from discharging his duty, by ingeniously animadverting upon the great liabilities which he was about to

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assume. But Gaines sternly replied, "My mind is made up. You must accompany me to Fort Stoddart, where you shall be treated with all the respect due the ex-Vice-President of the United States, so long as you make no attempt to escape from me." The stranger, for a moment, gazed at him with earnestness, apparently surprised at the unusual firmness which the young officer exhibited. He then assented, by a gentle motion of his head, wheeled his horse around, and took the road to the fort, riding by the side of the captain. His travelling companion rode back towards Wakefield, with Brightwell, the sheriff, who was in company with the two travellers when they were met by Gaines.*

The party reached the fort in the evening, and Colonel Burr, being conducted to his room, took his dinner alone.

* It remains a mystery, to this day, why Brightwell did not keep his promise with Perkins, and I can only account for it by supposing that he became fascinated with Colonel Burr, was sorry that he had sought to arrest him, and was now conducting him to Mrs. Carson's ferry, upon the Tombigby, on the route to Pensacola. Burr had seen Colonel Hinson at Natchez, who had invited him to his house, should he ever pass that way. When he escaped from Natchez, he was secreted, from time to time, at the houses of his friends, and he was hastening to Hinson's, with whom he had intended to pass a week. But when he found him absent, and himself discovered by Brightwell, who probably informed him of the intentions of Perkins, he determined to fly to Pensacola, and there take a ship for Europe. He intended to enlist wealthy and influential persons, both in England and France, in the scheme of making the conquest of the North American Spanish possessions, now that he had so signally failed to accomplish it in the United States.

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Late in the night, he heard a groan in an adjoining room. He arose from a table, at which he was reading, opened the door, entered the room, and approached the bedside of Geo. S. Gaines, the brother of the commandant, who was sick. He was kind to the sufferer, felt of his pulse, said he had travelled much and knew something of medicine, and offered his services. They now entered into an agreeable conversation. Burr asked the Choctaw factor many questions about the Indians, and their commerce. The next day he appeared at the dinner table, and was introduced to the wife of the commandant, who was the daughter of Judge Harry Toulmin. In the evening, he played chess with that accomplished lady, and, during his confinement at the fort, was often her competitor in that intricate game. Every night he sought the company of the invalid, who became exceedingly attached to him, and who felt deep regret on account of the downfall of so interesting and so distinguished a character. Often and often did the good heart of George S. Gaines grieve over the adversities and trials of this remarkable man, as they discoursed together. In all their conversations, maintained every night, the impenetrable Burr never once alluded to the designs which he had failed to carry out, to his present arrest, or to his future plans.

1807 About the period of March 5

In the meantime, Captain Gaines had been untiring in his exertions to fit out an expedition, for the conveyance of his distinguished prisoner to the federal city. At length he placed Burr in a boat, along with a file of soldiers, and he was rowed up the Alabama river, and then into Lake Tensaw.

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Passing some houses on the banks, several ladies wept, upon seeing the ex-Vice-President a prisoner, and one of them named a son for him. Everywhere, in the South-West, the ladies were attached to the man, and suffered their feelings to become enlisted in behalf of his unfortunate enterprises. It is a prominent and noble trait in the female character, to admire a man of daring and generous impulses, and to pity and defend him in his adversities!*

Arriving at the Boat Yard, Burr disembarked, and was delivered to the guard which was so long to be with him, in dangers and fatigues. It consisted of Colonel Nicholas Perkins, of Tennessee, who had, as we have seen, been the cause of his arrest, Thomas Malone, formerly a clerk in the land office, at Raleigh, North-Carolina, but who, at this period, was a clerk of the court of Washington county, Alabama, Henry B. Slade, of North-Carolina, John Mills, a native of Alabama, John Henry, of Tennessee, two brothers, named McCormack, of Kentucky, and two federal soldiers. With the exception of the two soldiers, Perkins had chosen these men, on account of the confidence which he reposed in their honor, energy and fidelity. He had been placed over them by Captain Gaines, who entertained a high opinion of his bravery and capacity. Perkins took his men aside, and obtained from them the most solemn pledge that they would

1807 About the period of March 6

* Burr was not only popular with the ladies, but the most prominent men in the South-West favored his enterprise, as they had long been anxious for the expulsion of the Spaniards.

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not suffer the prisoner to influence them, in any manner, in his behalf; to avoid which, they promised to converse as little as possible with him, upon the whole route to Washington. The character of Burr, for making strong impressions in his favor, upon the human mind, was well known to Perkins.

When the prisoner fled from the Natchez settlements, he assumed a disguise-dress. He was still attired in it. It consisted of coarse pantaloons, made of homespun, of a copperas dye, and a round-about, of inferior drab cloth, while his hat was a flapping, wide-brimmed beaver, which had, in times past, been white, but now presented a variety of dingy colors. When the guard was ready to depart, he mounted the same elegant horse which he rode when arrested. He bestrode him most gracefully, flashed his large dark eyes upon the many bystanders, audibly bade them farewell, and departed.* Perkins and his men were well provided with large pistols, which they carried in holsters, while the two soldiers had muskets. They left the Boat Yard, a quarter of a mile from which the terrible massacre of Fort Mims afterwards occurred, and, pursuing the Indian path, encamped the first night in the lower part of the present county of Monroe. The only tent taken along was pitched for Burr, and under it he lay the first night, by large fires, which threw a glare over the dismal woods. All night, his ears were saluted with the

* Many persons, who saw Burr in Alabama, have told me that his eyes were peculiarly brilliant, and, to use the comparison of Malone, "they looked like stars."

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fierce and disagreeable howling of wolves. In the wilds of Alabama, in a small tent, reposed this remarkable man, surrounded by a guard, and without a solitary friend or congenial spirit. He was a prisoner of the United States, for whose liberties he had fought, and an exile from New-York, whose statutes and institutions bore the impress of his mind. Death had deprived him of his accomplished wife, his only child was on the distant coast of Carolina, his professional pursuits were abandoned, his fortune swept from him, the magnificent scheme of the conquest of Mexico defeated, and he was harassed from one end of the Union to the other. All these things were sufficient to weigh down an ordinary being, and hurry him to the grave. Burr, however, was no common man. In the morning he rose, with a cheerful face, and fell into travelling order, along with the taciturn and watchful persons who had charge of him.

Although guarded with vigilance, he was treated with respect and kindness, and his few wants were gratified. The

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trail, like all Indian highways, was narrow, which required the guard to march in single file, with Burr in the middle of the line. The route lay about eight miles south of the present city of Montgomery, then an Indian town, called Econchate.* Passing by the residence of "Old Milly," who, as we have seen, lived upon the creek in Montgomery county, which still bears her name, Perkins employed her husband, a mulatto, named Evans, to conduct the guard across Line

* Econchate means *Red Ground.*

Creek, Cubahatchee and Calabee, all of which they were forced to swim. It was a perilous and fatiguing march, and, for days, the rain descended, in chilling torrents, upon these unsheltered horsemen, collecting in deep and rapid rivulets at every point. Hundreds of Indians, too, thronged the trail, and the party might have been killed in one moment. But the fearless Perkins bore on his distinguished prisoner, amid angry elements and human foes. In the journey through Alabama, the guard always slept in the woods, near swamps of reed, upon which the belled and hobbled horses fed during the night. After breakfast, it was their custom again to mount their horses and march on, with a silence which was sometimes broken by a remark about the weather, the creeks or the Indians. Burr sat firmly in the saddle, was always on the alert, and was a most excellent rider. Although drenched for hours with cold and clammy rain, and at night extended upon a thin pallet, on the bare ground, after having accomplished a ride of forty miles each day, yet, in the whole distance to Richmond, this remarkable man was never heard to complain that he was sick, or even fatigued. At the Chattahoochie was a crossing-place, owned by an Indian named Marshall, where the effects of the expedition were carried over the river in canoes, by the sides of which the horses swam. In this manner they passed the Flint and Ockmulgee. Arriving at Fort Wilkinson, on the Oconee, Perkins entered the first ferry-boat which he had seen upon the whole route, and, a few miles beyond the river, was sheltered by the first roof—a house of entertainment, kept by one Bevin.

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While breakfast was in a state of preparation, and the guard were quietly sitting before a large fire, the publican began a series of questions; and learning that the party were from the "Bigby settlement," he immediately fell upon the fruitful theme of "Aaron Burr, the traitor." He asked if he had not been arrested—if he was not a very bad man—and if every one was not afraid of him. Perkins and the rest of the guard, much annoyed and embarrassed, hung down their heads, and made no reply. Burr, who was sitting in a corner near the fire, majestically raised his head, and flashing his fiery eye upon Bevin, said,

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"I am Aaron Burr!—what is it you want with me?"

Struck with the keenness of his look, the solemnity of his voice and the dignity of his manner, Bevin stood aghast, and trembled like a leaf. He asked not another question of the guard, but quietly moved about the house, offering the most obsequious attentions.

When Perkins reached the confines of South-Carolina, he watched the prisoner more closely than ever; for, in this State lived Colonel Joseph Alston—a man of talents and influence, afterwards governor—who had married the only daughter, and, indeed, the only child of Burr. Afraid that the prisoner would be rescued at some point in this State, he exhorted his men to renewed vigilance. Before entering the town, in which is situated the Court House of Chester District, South-Carolina, he made a halt, and placed two men in front of Burr, two behind, and two on either side of him. In this manner they passed near a tavern, at the Court House,

where many persons were standing in front of the portico, while music and dancing were heard in the house. Seeing the collection of men so near him, Burr threw himself from his horse, and exclaimed, in a loud voice, "I AM AARON BURR, UNDER MILITARY ARREST, AND CLAIM THE PROTECTION OF THE CIVIL AUTHORITIES!" Perkins, with several of the guard, immediately dismounted, and the former ordered the prisoner to re-mount. Burr, in a most defiant manner, said, "I WILL NOT!" Being unwilling to shoot him, Perkins threw down his pistols—both of which he held in his hands—and seizing Burr around the waist, with the grasp of a tiger, threw him into his saddle. Thomas Malone caught the reins of the prisoner's horse, slipped them over his head, and led the animal rapidly on, while others whipped him up from behind. The astonished citizens saw a party enter their village with a prisoner, heard him appeal to them for protection in the most audible and imploring manner, saw armed men immediately surround him and thrust him again into his saddle, and then the whole party vanish from their presence, before they could recover from their confusion. The least timidity or hesitation on the part of Perkins, would have lost him his prisoner, for the latter was still popular in South-Carolina.

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Far in the outskirts of the town the party halted. Burr was in a high state of excitement, and burst into a flood of tears. The kind-hearted Malone also wept, at seeing the low condition to which this conspicuous man was now reduced. The bold attempt to escape, and the irresolution of the people to whom he appealed, suddenly unmanned him. Perkins held

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a short consultation with some of his men, and sending Burr on the route in charge of the guard, with Malone in command, he went back to the village, and purchasing a gig, overtook the party before night. Burr was placed in this vehicle, and driven by Malone, escorted by the guard. Without further incident, they arrived at Fredericksburg, where despatches from Jefferson caused them to take Burr to Richmond. The ladies of the latter place vied with each other in contributing to the comforts of the distinguished ex-Vice-President, sending him fruits, wine, and a variety of fine apparel. Perkins and his men repaired to Washington, reported to the President, and returned to Alabama by the distant route of Tennessee.

1807 March 30

Aaron Burr was arraigned for treason, and was tried and acquitted. He was then arraigned for misdemeanor, and was tried and acquitted. Thus ended the most expensive and extraordinary trial known to the country. A part of the time that he was in Richmond, the Federal Government caused him to be confined in the upper story of the penitentiary, where he was permitted to enjoy the company of his daughter.

Sailing to Europe, Burr was, at first, treated with great distinction in England. The winter of 1809 found him in Edinburg. Residing some time in Sweden and Germany, he, at length, arrived in France, where Bonaparte, influenced by letters from America, conceived a prejudice again him so immovable, that he refused him passports to leave the country. At length, the Duke de Bassano procured him the necessary documents, when he sailed for America, and arrived at New-York on the 8th of June, 1812. Here he engaged again in the

lucrative practice of the law, living in dignified obscurity, if such a position could be assigned to a man of his notoriety. He died, at Staten Island, on the 11th of September, 1836, at the advanced age of eighty. His body, attended by his relations and friends, was taken to Princeton, New-Jersey, and interred among the graves of his ancestors.

With the private character of Burr, we conceive we have nothing to do, except to add that we believe him to have been a most profligate and licentious man. When the world put him down—when he received nothing but abuse and ingratitude from those who once sycophantically surrounded him, and whom he had helped to offices of honor and profit—when he was shunned by his old companions in arms, not invited into the society of the refined, but was pointed at, in walking Broadway, as the *murderer* and the *traitor*—he became disheartened and soured; and, being without those religious feelings which sustain the most unfortunate, he threw off every restraint, and gave a loose rein to sentiments always unprincipled, and to passions always strong.*

* In relation to Burr's arrest in Alabama, and his journey through the wilderness, I conversed with Mr. Thomas Malone, one of his guard; with Mrs. Hinson, now Mrs. Sturdevant, at whose house Burr passed the night when he was discovered; with Mr. George S. Gaines, who was at Fort Stoddart when he was brought there; and with Mrs. Howse, who saw him when they were conducting him up Lake Tensaw. I also corresponded with Major-General Gaines, and have his testimony. All these witnesses are as reputable and as respectable as any persons in Alabama.

On the subject of Burr's early life, and of his operations in the

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One of the gravest facts proved against Burr, at his trial, at Richmond, upon the evidence of General Wilkinson, was that the prisoner, in a letter written to him in cypher, "avowed his design of seizing upon Baton Rouge, as a preliminary measure, and, afterwards, extending his conquests into the Spanish provinces." Admitting this to be true, it did not prove that he intended to dismember the Union. Our readers have already seen that the Federal Government, and the people of the South-West, desired the expulsion of the Spaniards from the Baton Rouge district, which was a part of the purchase from Napoleon, when he sold us Louisiana; and hereafter, it will be seen, that these Spaniards were driven from the Baton Rouge district only *three* years after Burr's trial, when the governor of it, Colonel Grandpre, was killed. In the citizens of the South-West, who accomplished this end, it was not held to be *treason*—but Burr, for merely contemplating it, was tried for that crime. It was not considered *treason*, when President Jackson allowed hundreds of people of the South-West to be shipped from Mobile and New-Orleans, with arms in their hands, who presently landed upon the coast of Texas, and took that country from the Spaniards—but, for similar designs, Aaron Burr was hunted down, thrown into prison, and tried for *treason*. The impartial reader must arrive at

Western country, I consulted Memoirs of Aaron Burr, by M. L. Davis; the various American State Papers; Clarke's Proofs of the Corruption of Wilkinson; Memoirs of Wilkinson, by himself; Familiar Letters upon Public Characters, and many other works.

the conclusion, that the faults of Burr, in a political and public capacity, were not such as ought really to have placed that odium upon him which still attaches to his name. One of the great secrets of his political misfortunes, lay in the prejudices and malevolence of politicians and fanatics. Somebody heard General Washington say, that "Burr was a dangerous man;" thereupon, the world set him down as a "dangerous man." He killed Hamilton in a duel, because Hamilton abused him; thereupon the world said he was a "murderer." He was a formidable rival of Jefferson, in the contest for the Presidency; thereupon, a majority of the republican party said he was a political scoundrel. He had always opposed the federal party; for that reason, the federal party hated him with exceeding bitterness. A blundering, extravagant man, named Herman Blannerhassett, sought Burr, while he was in the West, eagerly enlisted in his schemes, and invited him to his house; thereupon, William Wirt said, in his prosecuting speech, that Burr "was the serpent who entered the garden of Eden."

We do not wish to be considered as the defender of Aaron Burr. We do not admire his character, or that of many of his distinguished contemporaries, who assailed him. But, as a historian, we are expected to write the truth, even if that truth is unpalatable to the prejudices of the age.

CHAPTER XXX.

ST. STEPHENS—HUNTSVILLE—INDIAN COMMERCE—KEMPER EXPEDITIONS.

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THE military movements of Burr increased the population and wealth of the Mississippi Territory, for hundreds of his followers became permanent citizens. About this time the cultivation of indigo was much abandoned for that of cotton, and some salutary laws were enacted in relation to the toll for ginning the latter staple. The cotton receipts obtained from the owner of a gin were also made a legal tender, and passed as

1807 December 7

domestic bills of exchange. St. Stephens was laid off into town lots. A road was cut out from thence to the city of Natchez. Notwithstanding the revenue exactions upon the settlers, which now subjected them, by means of the Spanish custom-house at Mobile, and the American at Fort Stoddart, to a duty of from forty-two to forty-seven per cent. *ad valorem*, for articles essential to family comfort, while, at the same time, their fellow-citizens about Natchez were entirely free from such exactions, paying only four dollars per barrel for Kentucky flour, when the Tombigby planter paid sixteen—yet they remained loyal to the Federal Government;

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and both whigs and tories participated in an animated public meeting at Wakefield, pledging their support to the United States, to avenge the wanton attack of the British upon the American ship Chesapeake, in a string of eloquent and patriotic resolutions, drafted by James McGoffin. 1807 September 8

The little town of Huntsville, north of the Tennessee, continuedto receive around it many wealthy emigrants from several of the Atlantic and Western States. Governor Williams issued a proclamation, forming a county, of which this became the court house. The new county of Madison, where it joined the Tennessee line, was about twenty-five miles wide, and approached the Tennessee river in the shape of a triangle, not exceeding three miles wide at Ditto's Landing. It embraced all the territory that fell within Alabama, to which the Indian title was extinguished by the treaty with the Chickasaws, in 1805. 1808 December 13

The Mississippi Territory continued to improve. The forests began to be extensively felled; houses were reared as if by magic; the preacher was zealous in the discharge of his divine mission; the "schoolmaster was abroad;" the medical and legal professions flourished; the merchants drove a good business; the mechanics received constant employment and high wages—while the farmer worked for them all, and received his due reward. These remarks apply more particularly to the section upon the Mississippi. A stock bank, with a capital of five hundred thousand dollars, was established at Natchez. 1809 December 28

The factory of the United States, located at St. Stephens,

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continued to be managed with advantage, so far as the friendship of the Choctaws depended, which was the chief aim of the government. When quite a young man, Mr. George S. Gaines, a native of Virginia, and then a resident of Gallatin, Tennessee, received the appointment of assistant factor, and arrived at St. Stephens in the spring of 1805. The parsonage of the old Spanish church was used as a skin-house, and the old block-house served the purpose of the government store. In 1807, Gaines was made principal factor. He received a good salary, as also did the assistant clerk, the skins-man, and the interpreter. To this establishment the Indians—principally Choctaws—and sometimes the American settlers, brought bear's oil, honey in kegs, beeswax, bacon, groundnuts, tobacco in kegs, and all kinds of skins and peltries. To pay for which, the Federal Government usually kept a stock of coarse Indian merchandize, besides all kinds of iron tools, ploughs, arms and ammunition. In the summer the furs and hides, often overhauled by the skins-man for the purpose of keeping out the worms, were assorted. In the fall they were packed up in bales, and shipped to the Indian Agent at Philadelphia. Mr. Gaines, at first, came often in collision with the revenue authorities of Mobile, who exacted duties—delayed his vessels—and, upon one occasion, came near putting him in the calaboose of that place, for venturing to remonstrate. The Federal Government, to avoid the payment of these duties, and to prevent delays, instructed the factor to obtain the consent of the Chickasaws for a road from Colbert's Ferry to St. Stephens. The government resolved to send supplies

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down the Ohio and up the Tennessee, to the former point. The faithful and enterprising Gaines was unable to procure the privilege of a road, but was allowed the use of a horse path. Upon the backs of horses he was accustomed to transport goods, hardware, and even lead, from Colbert's Ferry to Peachland's, upon the Tombigby. There, boats being constructed, the merchandize was floated down to St. Stephens. It is singular that our Ministers, in forming the treaty with Spain in 1795, by which we acquired all of West Florida above the line of 31°, and the right of free navigation of the Mississippi, neglected to insert an article for the free navigation of the bays and rivers of Mobile and Pearl.*

1810

The Spaniards continued to occupy the Baton Rouge district and that of Mobile, and the daring Kempers, who had received such cruel treatment at their hands, together with many other persons, impatient at the irresolution of the Federal Government, resolved to expel them. They were assisted by the people of Bayou Sara, and others below Ellicott's line. Organizing at St. Francisville, the patriots, as they styled themselves, marched upon Baton Rouge—took it by surprise, after a small skirmish, in which Governor Grandpre was killed. The town and other posts fell into their hands, and the Spaniards retired to Pensacola. As the Americans at this period, and for a long time previous, were fruitful in plans to form governments independent of the Union, so the patriots, many of whom were old Spanish subjects, now resolved to have one

August

* Conversations with Mr. George S. Gaines.

CHAPTER XXX. 1810 September 26 October 27

of their own. A convention assembled, which adopted a declaration of independence, very similar in tone and sentiment to that drawn up by Jefferson. They declared their right and intention to form treaties, and to establish commerce with foreign nations. Afterwards, however, this new republic was annexed to Louisiana, with the approbation of the inhabitants.

The Kempers, apart from mercenary motives for engaging in this rebellion, desired to gratify a feeling of revenge. Reuben and Samuel captured Kneeland, one of the kidnappers, and inflicted upon his naked back one hundred lashes, then one hundred more for their brother Nathan, who was absent, cut off his ears with a dull knife, and permitted him to retire. These trophies of resentment were long preserved in spirits of wine, and hung up in one of the Kemper's parlor. Reuben caught another of these wretches named Horton, and chastised him as long as the latter could receive it, and live. Barker, seized by the Kempers at the court house at Fort Adams, under the nose of the Judge, was dragged forth, and flayed till they were content. Captain Alston, who received the Kempers at the line, with a Spanish guard, and conducted them to Bayou Tunica, died of the dropsy, contracted in lying in an open boat, at anchor, every night, to avoid the attacks of the injured brothers.*

However, before the new republic was annexed to Louisi-

* MS. notes in the possession of Mr. E. T. Wood, of Mobile. Monette, vol. 2, pp. 486–490. American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. 7, pp. 482–484–479.

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ana, the convention dispatched its colonel, Reuben Kemper, to the Tombigby river, to enlist an army for the purpose of expelling the Spaniards from the Mobile district. The hatred of all these people for the Spaniards, facilitated the movements of Kemper, who operated in conjunction with Colonel James Caller, a man of wealth and considerable frontier influence, at whose house he lodged. Troops were secretly raised. Flat-boats, with provisions, were despatched down the Tensaw river, to Smith's plantation. Major Kennedy and Colonel Kemper crossed over to the Boat Yard, where they were joined by Dr. Thomas G. Holmes and other fearless and ardent spirits, together with a company of horse under Captain Bernard. Arriving at the White House, one mile above the present Blakeley, Kemper despatched young Cyrus Sibley with a letter to Governor Folch—who had just taken command of Mobile—demanding the surrender of that place. A party, under Dr. Holmes, was also despatched to scour the surrounding country for arms, ammunition and provisions, which the inhabitants generally secreted and withheld, because, being Spanish subjects, they were not dissatisfied with that government, which exacted no onerous duties of them. The command dropped down to the old fields of Minette Bay, opposite Mobile, where they appropriated to themselves, without scruple, forage and provisions, the property of Charles Conway, Sr. Captain Goss arrived with a keel-boat, laden with whiskey, corn, flour and bacon, which had been sent by the Baton Rouge Convention down the Mississippi, through the lakes. The whiskey put the whole expedition in good

1810 November

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spirits. Glowing speeches were made by Kennedy, who pointed them to the ancient Mobile, which, he said, they would shortly capture. But cold, rainy weather, which the troops were forced to encounter without tents or covering of any kind, now sat in. This circumstance, together with a personal difficulty which arose between Dr. Holmes and Dr. Pollard, in which the former was compelled, in self-defence, to severely wound the latter with a pistol, influenced Kemper to conduct the campaign on the other side of the bay. With a portion of the party, Major Hargrove proceeded in the boat to Saw-mill creek, on the west side of Mobile river, twelve miles above the town. With an abundance of whiskey and several fiddles, a frolic was there kept up, which was intended to last until Kemper and the horse company could go around by the Cut-Off, and join them. An evil old man in the neighborhood, who often drank with them, went one night to Mobile, and assured Governor Folch how easily they might be captured. The latter sent Parades, with two hundred regulars and citizens in boats, up the river, late one evening, who entered Saw-mill creek, ascended it to the American camp, and while the poor fellows were dancing and shouting, at 11 o'clock at night, fired upon them. Many of them fled in all

1810 November

directions. Four were killed, and others were wounded. Major Hargrove rallied a few of his men and fought, but was overpowered. He and nine more were loaded with irons—carried to Mobile, thrown into the calaboose, and from thence conveyed to Havana and immured in the dungeons of Moro Castle. Cyrus Sibley, afterwards recognized as the bearer of

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the despatch to Folch from Kemper, was seized, and also sent to Moro Castle. These men remained Spanish prisoners, in the Castle, for FIVE YEARS.* This affair broke up the "Kemper expedition," which was further embarrassed by opposition from the Federal authorities about Fort Stoddart. Subsequently, Wilkinson despatched Colonel Cushing, with some troops, to Mobile, for the protection of the Spaniards from the designs of the patriots. They encamped three weeks at the Orange Grove. Cushing then marched up to Fort Stoddart, and built a cantonment at Mount Vernon.†

1811 November

December

* MS. notes in the possession of Mr. E. T. Wood, of Mobile. Also, conversations with Dr. Thomas G. Holmes, of Baldwin county, Alabama.

† Conversations with Major Reuben Chamberlain, of Mobile, who came with Colonel Cushing.

CHAPTER XXXI.

TECUMSEH—CIVIL WAR AMONG THE CREEKS.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE United States and Great Britain were upon the verge of war. British agents, in Canada and Florida, sought to procure the co-operation of the whole south-western Indian force. The Creeks, more powerful in numbers than the others, were particularly urged to join the English. Colonel Hawkins had managed them, with much wisdom and policy, for several years, but they always remained dissatisfied, and were particularly so now, in consequence of a portion of their Chiefs having granted a public road through the heart of their

1811 country, which had been cut out by Lieutenant Luckett and a party of soldiers. This thoroughfare, called the "Federal Road," and which run from Mims' Ferry, upon the Alabama, to the Chattahoochie, was filled, from one end to the other, with emigrants for the western part of the territory. The Creeks, with their usual sagacity, foresaw that they should soon be hemmed in by the Georgians on one side, and the Tombigby people on the other, and many of them contemplated the expulsion of the latter, at some day not very distant. The Spaniards also hated the emigrants, who had

continued to drive them, inch by inch, from the soil which they claimed. With both them and the Indians the British agents began to operate, to make secret allies of the one and open ones of the other. But the most powerful British incendiary was Tecumseh. His father and mother, of the Shawnee family, were born and bred at Souvanogee,* upon the Tallapoosa, in Alabama. With several children, they removed to the forest of Ohio, where Tecumseh was born, in 1768. He had five brothers, who were all celebrated for the human blood which they spilt and for their indomitable courage. His only sister, Tecumapease, a woman of great sense and strong character, he devotedly loved, and was much influenced by her. In 1787, he visited the Cherokees and Creeks, with whom he remained two years, engaging in their hunts, festivals and frontier wars. Returning to the Ohio, he fought a battle with a party of whites, near Big Rock, and another, with the Kentuckians, on the Little Miami, and still another, at Paint Rock, in 1793. He then engaged in the attack upon Fort Recovery, in 1794, and participated in the battle of Maumee Rapids, in the same year. From that period, until that in which we propose to connect him with Alabama history, Tecumseh was engaged in British intrigues, in hunts and in skirmishes. Wherever he appeared, devastation and havoc ensued. He possessed a fine form, a commanding appearance, and had the endurance common to all

* Old Augusta, now the property of Henry Lucas, on the rail-road, where there are some mounds.

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Indians, together with a high degree of sagacity. He entertained the most relentless hatred of the Americans.

Spring of 1812

After many conferences with the British, at Detroit, Tecumseh left that country, with a party of thirty warriors, mounted upon horses, and shaped his course to the south. Passing through the Chickasaw and Choctaw country, he was unsuccessful in arraying these tribes against the Americans. He went down to Florida, and met with complete success with the Seminoles. In the month of October he came up to the Alabama, crossed that river at Autauga, where he, for the first time, appealed to the Creeks, in a long speech. Continuing to Coosawda, he had, by this time, collected many followers, who went with him to the Hickory Ground. Having, from their boyhood, heard of his feats in the buffalo chase, the bloody wars which he had conducted, and of his fierce and transcendent eloquence, the warriors flocked to see him. He went to Tookabatcha, where Colonel Hawkins was then holding his grand council with the Indians. This ancient capital never looked so gay and populous. An autumnal sun glittered upon the yellow faces of five thousand natives, besides whites and negroes, who mingled with them. At the conclusion of the Agent's first day's address, Tecumseh, at the head of his Ohio party, marched into the square. They were entirely naked, except their flaps and ornaments. Their faces were painted black, and their heads adorned with eagle plumes, while buffalo tails dragged from behind, suspended by bands which went around their waists. Buffalo tails were also attached to their arms, and made to stand out, by means

October

of bands. Their appearance was hideous, and their bearing pompous and ceremonious. They marched round and round, in the square; then, approaching the Chiefs, they cordially shook them, with the whole length of the arm, and exchanged tobacco, a common ceremony with the Indians, denoting friendship, as we have already seen. Captain Isaacs, Chief of Coosawda, was the only one who refused to exchange tobacco. His head, adorned with its usual costume—a pair of buffalo horns—was shaken, in contempt of Tecumseh, who, he said, was a bad man, and no greater than he was.

Every day Tecumseh appeared in the square, to deliver his "talk," and all ears were anxious to hear it; but, late in the evening, he would rise, and say, "The sun has gone too far to-day—I will make my talk to-morrow." At length Hawkins terminated his business, and departed for the Agency, upon the Flint. That night a grand council was held in the great round-house. Tecumseh, presenting his graceful and majestic form above the heads of hundreds, made known his mission, in a long speech, full of fire and vengeance. He exhorted them to return to their primitive customs, to throw aside the plough and the loom, and to abandon an agricultural life, which was unbecoming Indian warriors. He told them that, after the whites had possessed the greater part of their country, turned its beautiful forests into large fields, and stained their clear rivers with the washings of the soil, they would then subject them to African servitude. He exhorted them to assimilate in no way with the grasping, unprincipled race, to use none of their arms and wear none of their clothes,

CHAPTER XXXI.

but dress in the skins of beasts, which the Great Spirit had given his red children for food and raiment, and to use the war-club, the scalping-knife and the bow. He concluded by announcing that the British, their former friends, had sent him from the Big Lakes, to procure their services, in expelling the Americans from all Indian soil; that the King of England was ready handsomely to reward all who would fight for his cause.

A prophet, who composed one of the party of Tecumseh, next spoke. He said that he frequently communed with the Great Spirit, who had sent Tecumseh to their country upon this mission, the character of which that great Chief had described. He declared that those who would join the war party should be shielded from all harm—none would be killed in battle; that the Great Spirit would surround them with quagmires, which would swallow up the Americans as they approached; that they would finally expel every Georgian from the soil, as far as the Savannah; that they would see the arms of Tecumseh, stretched out in the heavens, at a certain time, and then they would know when to begin the war.*

1812 October

A short time before daylight the council adjourned, and more than half the audience had already resolved to go to war against the Americans. Tecumseh visited all the impor-

* The British officers in Canada had told him when a comet would appear, and that he might use that as a sign, to delude the Southern Indians.

tant Creek towns, enlisting all whom he could on the side of England. He had much to overcome, in the obstinacy of many of the prominent Chiefs, who had become attached to the Federal Government, which had lavished upon them munificent presents. Yet he was, in a great measure, successful. He made use of gifted and cunning Indians, to carry out his plans, after he should have left the country. One of these was Josiah Francis, the son of a Creek woman, by a trader, of Scotch and Irish descent, named David Francis.* The Shawnee prophet, it was said, inspired him. He placed him in a cabin by himself, around which he danced and howled for ten days. He said that Francis was then blind, but that he would again see, and would then know all things which were to happen in future. When the ten days expired, the prophet led him forth, and attended him all day, for Francis stepped high and irregular, like a blind man. Towards night, the vision of Francis suddenly came to him, and after that he was the greatest prophet in the whole Creek nation, and was empowered to make many subordinate prophets. Tecumseh, having made numerous proselytes, once more visited the Big Warrior, at Tookabatcha, whom he was particularly desirous to enlist in his schemes, but whom he had

* This David Francis lived for many years in the Autauga town, where he had a trading establishment. He was also a silver-smith, and made buckles, ornaments and spurs, of silver, for the Indians. Josiah, his son, also learned the trade. David Francis was a great uncle to Dr. Francis, an intelligent and highly respectable gentleman, of Benton county, Alabama.

CHAPTER XXXI. 1812 November

hitherto entreated to no effect, although his house was his head-quarters. The Big Warrior still remained true to the United States, more from fear of the consequences of a war than any love he entertained for the Americans. Tecumseh, after talking with him for some time, to no purpose, pointed his finger in his face, and emphatically said, "Tustinuggee Thlucco, your blood is white. You have taken my red sticks and my talk, but you do not mean to fight. I know the reason. You do not believe the Great Spirit has sent me. You shall believe it. I will leave directly, and go straight to Detroit. When I get there I will stamp my foot upon the ground, and shake down every house in Tookabatcha." The Big Warrior said nothing, but puffed his pipe, and enveloped himself in clouds of smoke. Afterwards, he thought much upon this remarkable speech.

1812 December

The common Indians believed every word of Tecumseh's last speech, which was intended solely to intimidate the Big Warrior, and they began to count up the time it would take the Shawnee Chief to reach Detroit, when he would stamp his foot, as he had declared. One day a mighty rumbling was heard in the earth; the houses of Tookabatcha reeled, and tottered, and reeled again. The people ran out, vociferating, "Tecumseh has got to Detroit! Tecumseh has got to Detroit! We feel the shake of his foot!"*

* This was an earthquake well known to the old settlers. In relation to the visit of Tecumseh to Alabama, I have consulted General Ferdinand L. Claiborne's MS. papers, and Drake's Life of Tecumseh;

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Josiah Francis made many prophets, and, among others, High-Head Jim, of Auttose. The Indians began to dance "the war-dance of the lakes," which Tecumseh had taught them. In the meantime, that Chief had reached Canada, having carried with him the Little Warrior, of the Creek nation, with thirty of his warriors. The British agents sent back by them letters to their agents in Florida, with orders to allow the Creeks extensive supplies of arms and ammunition. The Little Warrior, in returning, by way of the mouth of the Ohio, attacked seven families, living near each other, and murdered them in the most cruel manner. They dragged Mrs. Crawley from the bodies of her bleeding children, and brought her, a prisoner, to the Tuscaloosa Falls. Being made acquainted with these outrages by General Robertson, the Chickasaw Agent, Hawkins demanded the punishment of the guilty warriors. A council, at Tookabatcha, secretly despatched a party of warriors, headed by McIntosh, of Coweta, who marched to the Hickory Ground, where they separated into smaller parties. One of these went to the Red Warrior's Bluff, upon the Tallapoosa, now Grey's Ferry, and there surrounded a house, and began to shoot at five of the Little Warrior's party. They defended themselves with bravery, all the time dancing the dance of the lakes. Finally, they were all killed and burnt up. A party, headed by Captain

1813 February

April 16

I have also conversed with Lachlan Durant, Mrs. Sophia McComb, Peter Randon, James Moore, and others, who were at Tookabatcha when Tecumseh arrived there.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Isaacs, pursued the Little Warrior into a swamp, above Wetumpka, and killed him. Others were killed at Hoithlewaule. Although the Chiefs, friendly to the United States, acted with so much justice upon this occasion, it did not prevent the commission of other murders, more immediately at home. An old Chief, named Mormouth, killed Thomas Merideth, an emigrant, at Catoma Creek, and wounded others.*

Having engaged in a war with England, the Federal Government, fearing to leave the port of Mobile longer in the hands of the Spaniards, who were the secret allies of Great Britain, resolved to occupy the whole of the district lying between Pearl and the Perdido rivers, and below the line of 31°, which we had claimed since the treaty with Bonaparte, who ceded to us Louisiana, of which this was a part, as was contended. Accordingly, General Wilkinson, with six hundred men, of the third and seventh regiments, sailing from New-Orleans, in transport vessels, commanded by Commodore Shaw, provided with scaling-ladders, and every necessary equipment, landed opposite the site of the Pavilion, on the bay of Mobile. He marched up to the town, and took a position in the rear of Fort Charlotte. After some correspondence, the Spanish commandant, Captain Cayetano Perez,

1813 April 13

capitulated, surrendered the fort, and all the cannon and military stores, the latter of which Wilkinson agreed the United States should pay for. The Spanish garrison retired to Pensacola, and the stars and stripes were hoisted upon the ram-

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 843–845.

parts of Fort Charlotte, which was built of brick, with casements for five hundred men, and with four bastions. It was quite an acquisition to the United States, at the present time. General Wilkinson sent nine pieces of artillery to Mobile Point, which were there placed in battery. He then marched to the Perdido, and on its western bank, on the main road to Pensacola, began the construction of a strong stockade, under the superintendence of Colonel John Bowyer, which was afterwards abandoned. Marching back to Mobile, he despatched Captain Chamberlain, with soldiers, to Mobile Point, who began, and, in two years, completed Fort Bowyer.* Thus the long period had arrived, *when no Spanish government was found to exist upon a foot of the soil of Alabama or Mississippi.*

The effects of Tecumseh's visit began to be realized in every corner of the Creek confederacy. Even at the Falls of Tuscaloosa, where a Creek town had for several years been established, the inhabitants were extremely belligerent. The Chief, Ocheoce Emarthla, with a few warriors, dropped down the Warrior river in canoes, paid Mr. Gaines a visit, and were insulting in their bearing, and importunate in their demands for goods, upon a credit. They disclosed to Tandy Walker, an honest white man, formerly a government blacksmith, their intention shortly to attack the settlers, and seize upon the factory. In an eastward direction, the Alabamas were

* Memoirs of Wilkinson, vol. 1, pp. 507–520. Conversations with Major Reuben Chamberlain.

CHAPTER XXXI.

furious advocates of American extermination. The Indian executions, to which allusion has just been made, connected with the occasional shocks of the earthquake, filled the Indian world with excitement and fanaticism.

Peter McQueen, a half-breed of Tallase, the venerable Hobothle Micco, and other prominent men, who had inclined to the talks of Tecumseh, now assumed decided attitudes.

1813 May

The hostile spirit increased fearfully, and the whole nation was soon agitated with quarrels, fights, murders and robberies, and everything foreboded a direful civil war. The prophets practised their incantations in towns, fields, and in the woods, wherever they found Indians to influence. Alarmed at this unusual state of things, the Chiefs friendly to the United States frequently despatched runners to Hawkins, who urged them, in return, to adhere to the cause of the Federal Government, and to take all means to avert a civil war. The Agent seems to have been strangely benighted, slowly allowing his mind to be brought to the conviction that anything serious would grow out of these difficulties. The Big Warrior, on the contrary, was much alarmed. He endeavored to assemble the Chiefs of the neighboring towns; but a majority refused to appear, and continued to give countenance to the prophets. He despatched a runner to the Alabamas, with this talk: "You are but a few Alabama people. You say that the Great Spirit visits you frequently; that he comes in the sun, and speaks to you; that the sun comes down just above your heads. Now we want to see and hear what you have seen and heard. Let us have the same proof, then we will believe.

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You have nothing to fear—the people who did the killing upon the Ohio are put to death, and the law is satisfied." The messenger was seized, killed, and scalped, at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, where a portion of the war party were engaged in "the dance of the lakes." They then paddled down to Coosawda, pursued Captain Isaacs into the cane, across the river, and, being unable to find him, returned, burnt up his houses, destroyed his stock and murdered two of his chief warriors.* The Indians also commenced hostilities upon the Americans. Between Burnt Corn and the Escambia, Greggs, an American mail-rider, was seized, most severely beaten, and left upon the Federal Road, after being robbed of his mail-bags and horse. Without anything to eat, save the berries in the woods, the lacerated youth, after wandering ten days through the forests, reached Montgomery Hill. The mail was carried to Pensacola, and rifled of its contents, in a Spanish trading-house.† General Wilkinson, with his lady, had reached Sam McNac's, near the Catoma, with an escort, which had attended him from Mims' Ferry. He wrote back to Judge Toulmin, informing him of the dangers attendant upon a trip through the Creek nation, but that he was resolved to go on to Georgia. In a short time, McNac, who, for some time, lived upon the Federal Road, for the purpose of accommodating travellers, was driven off, some of his negroes stolen, while his cattle were driven to

1813 June

June 25

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, p. 846.

† Conversations with Mr. George S. Gaines, of Mobile, and Dr. Thomas G. Holmes, of Baldwin county.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Pensacola for sale. Other half-breeds, suspected of friendship for the Americans, were treated in the same manner. Remaining concealed for some time, upon his island in the Alabama, McNac ventured to visit his place upon the road. Here he suddenly encountered High-Head Jim, one of the prophets of Auttose, who, after shaking him by the hands, began to tremble all over, and to jerk, in every part of his frame, convulsing the calves of the legs, and, from the severe agitation, getting entirely out of breath. This practice had been introduced by the prophet Josiah Francis, the brother-in-law of McNac, who said he was so instructed by the Great Spirit. Wishing to make terms for the moment, McNac pretended that he was sorry for his former friendship to the whites, and avowed his determination to join the hostiles. High-Head Jim, led away by this artifice, disclosed to him all their plans; that they were soon to kill the Big Warrior, Captain Isaacs, William McIntosh, the Mad Dragon's Son, the Little Prince, Spoke Kange, and Tallase Fixico, all prominent Chiefs of the nation; that, after the death of these traitors, the Creeks were to unite, in a common cause, against the Americans; those upon the Coosa, Tallapoosa and Black Warrior, were to attack the settlements upon the Tensaw and Tombigby; those near the Cherokees, with the assistance of the latter, were to attack the Tennesseans; the Georgians were to fall by the fierce sallies of the Lower Creeks and Seminoles; while the Choctaws were to exterminate the Mississippi population.

1813 June

The most extravagant delusions prevailed upon the Coosa,

at this period. Nearly all these people moved out of their towns, into the woods, dancing and preparing for war. Letecau, a prophet, of eighteen years of age, a native of the town of Abaucooche, went, with eight subordinate prophets, to the old Coosa town, from whence they sent out runners, inviting all the unbelievers to come and witness their magical powers. A large assembly, of both sexes, congregated upon the banks of the river, and surrounded the prophets. Letecau, with his wand, drew a circle in front, and he and his subordinates began "the dance of the lakes." After powerful exertions, for some time, the war-whoop was given by Letecau, who fell, with his men, upon three Chiefs, whom they killed. The other friendly Chiefs sprang into the river, made their escape to their towns, and, assembling their warriors, returned, and killed Letecau and his prophets. They proceeded to Little Ocfuske, where Tecumseh's talk had been taken, and there put a number of his deluded followers to death.

The hostiles destroyed the stock of the friendly Indians, at the Hillabee towns, several of whom they killed. They carried off seventy negroes, belonging to Robert Graison, and committed many other depredations. The town of Kialigee was burned down, and several of the inhabitants shot. These things overwhelmed the Big Warrior with fear, and he entreated Hawkins to relieve him, with the federal troops. He had collected a large supply of corn at Tookabatcha, where he built a fort. Hawkins prevailed upon two hundred war-

1813 June

CHAPTER XXXI.

riors, of Coweta and Cusseta, to march to Tookabatcha, where they soon arrived, and, after some annoyance, from the attacks of a few of the war party, succeeded in carrying off the Big Warrior, and those who adhered to him, in safety, over to the Chattahoochie.*

* Upon the civil war among the Creeks, see Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 849–851.

CHAPTER XXXII.

BATTLE OF BURNT CORN—ARRIVAL OF GENERAL CLAIBORNE'S ARMY.

CHAPTER XXXII.

PETER MCQUEEN, at the head of the Tallase warriors, High-Head Jim, with the Autaugas, and Josiah Francis, with the Alabamas, numbering, in all, three hundred and fifty, departed for Pensacola, with many pack-horses. On their way, they beat and drove off all the Indians who would not take the war talk. The brutal McQueen beat an unoffending white trader within an inch of his life, and carried the wife of Curnells, the government interpreter, a prisoner, to Pensacola. The village of Hatchechubba was reduced to ashes.

1813 July 10

The inhabitants of the Tombigby and the Tensaw had constantly petitioned the governor for an army to repel the Creeks, whose attacks they hourly expected. But General Flournoy, who had succeeded Wilkinson in command, refused to send any of the regular or volunteer troops. The British fleet was seen off the coast, from which supplies, arms, ammunition, and Indian emissaries, were sent to Pensacola and other Spanish ports in Florida. Everything foreboded the extermination of the Americans in Alabama, who were the

CHAPTER XXXII.

most isolated and defenceless people imaginable. Determined, however, to protect themselves, to the best of their means and abilities, they first sent spies to Pensacola, to watch the movements of the Indians there, under McQueen, who returned with the report that the British agents were distributing to them ample munitions of war. Colonel James Caller ordered out the militia, some of whom soon rallied to his standard, in the character of minute volunteers. He marched across the Tombigby, passed through the town of Jackson, and by the new fort, upon the eastern line of Clarke, and from thence to Sisemore's Ferry, upon the Alabama, where, on the western bank, he bivouaced for the night. The object of the expedition was to attack the Indians, as they were returning from Pensacola. The next morning, Caller began the crossing of the river, to the east side, which was effected by swimming the horses by the side of the canoes. It occupied much of the early part of the day. When all were over, the march

1813 July 26

was resumed, in a south-eastern direction, to the cow-pens of David Tait, where a halt was made. Here Caller was reinforced, by a company from Tensaw Lake and Little River, under the command of Dixon Bailey, a half-breed Creek, a native of the town of Auttose, who had been educated at Philadelphia, under the provisions of the treaty of New-York, of 1790. Bailey was a man of fine appearance, unimpeachable integrity, and a strong mind. His courage and energy were not surpassed by those of any other man. The whole expedition under Caller now consisted of one hundred and eighty men, in small companies. Two of these were

from St. Stephens, one of which was commanded by Captain Bailey Heard, and the other by Captain Benjamin Smoot and Lieutenant Patrick May. A company, from the county of Washington, was commanded by Captain David Cartwright. In passing through Clarke county, Caller had been re-inforced by a company under Captain Samuel Dale and Lieutenant Girard W. Creagh. Some men had also joined him, commanded by William McGrew, Robert Caller, and William Bradberry. The troops of the little party were mounted upon good frontier horses, and provided with rifles and shot-guns, of various sizes and descriptions. Leaving the cow-pens, Caller marched until he reached the wolf-trail, where he bivouaced for the last night. The main route to Pensacola was now before them.

1813 July 27

In the morning the command was re-organized, by the election of Zachariah Philips, McFarlin, Wood and Jourdan, to the rank of major, and William McGrew lieutenant-colonel. This unusual number of field-officers was made, to satisfy military aspirations. While on the march, the spy company returned rapidly, about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, and reported that McQueen's party were encamped a few miles in advance, and were engaged in cooking and eating. A consultation of officers terminated in the decision to attack the Indians by surprise. The command was thrown into three divisions—Captain Smoot in front of the right, Captain Bailey in front of the centre, and Captain Dale in front of the left. The Indians occupied a peninsula of low pine barren, formed by the windings of Burnt Corn Creek. Some gently

CHAPTER XXXII.

rising heights overlooked this tongue of land, down which Caller charged upon them. Although taken by surprise, the Indians repelled the assault for a few minutes, and then gave way, retreating to the creek. A portion of the Americans bravely pursued them to the water, while others remained behind, engaged in the less laudable enterprise of capturing the Indian pack-horses. Caller acted with bravery, but, unfortunately, ordered a retreat to the high lands, where he intended to take a strong position. Seeing those in advance retreating from the swamp, about one hundred of the command, who had been occupied, as we have stated, in securing Indian effects, now precipitately fled, in great confusion and terror, but, in the midst of their dismay, *held on to the plunder*, driving the horses before them. Colonel Caller, Captain Bailey and other officers, endeavored to rally them, in vain. The Indians rushed forth from the swamp, with exulting yells, and attacked about eighty Americans, who remained at the foot of the hill. A severe fight ensued, and the whites, now commanded by Captains Dale, Bailey and Smoot, fought with laudable courage, exposed to a galling fire, in open

1813 July 27

woods, while McQueen and his warriors were protected by thick reeds. The latter, however, discharged their pieces very unskilfully. Captain Dale received a large ball in the breast, which, glancing around a rib, came out at his back. He continued to fight as long as the battle lasted. At length, abandoned by two-thirds of the command, while the enemy had the advantage of position, the Americans resolved to retreat, which they did in great disorder. Many had lost

their horses, for they had dismounted when the attack was made, and now ran in all directions, to secure them or get up behind others. Many actually ran off on foot. After all these had left the field, three young men were found, still fighting by themselves, on one side of the peninsula, and keeping at bay some savages, who were concealed in the cane. They were Lieutenant Patrick May, of North-Carolina, now of Greene county, Alabama, a descendant of a brave revolutionary family; a private, named Ambrose Miles and Lieutenant Girard W. Creagh, of South-Carolina. A warrior presented his tall form. May and the savage discharged their guns at each other. The Indian fell dead in the cane; his fire, however, had shattered the lieutenant's piece, near the lock. Resolving also to retreat, these intrepid young men made a rush for their horses, when Creagh, brought to the ground by the effects of a wound which he received in the hip, cried out, "Save me, lieutenant, or I am gone." May instantly raised him up, bore him off on his back, and placed him in his saddle, while Miles held the bridle reins. A rapid retreat saved their lives. Reaching the top of the hill, they saw Lieutenant Bradberry, a young lawyer of North-Carolina, bleeding with his wounds, and endeavoring to rally some of his men. The Indians, reaching the body of poor Ballad, took off his scalp, in full view, which so incensed his friend, Glass, that he advanced and fired the last gun upon them. 1813 July 27

The retreat was continued all night, in the most irregular

CHAPTER XXXII.

manner, and the trail was lined, from one end to the other, with small squads, and sometimes one man by himself. The wounded travelled slowly, and often stopped to rest. It was afterwards ascertained that only two Americans were killed, and fifteen wounded. Such was the battle of Burnt Corn, the first that was fought in the long and bloody Creek war. The Indians retraced their steps to Pensacola, for more military supplies. Their number of killed is unknown. Caller's command never got together again, but mustered themselves out of service, returning to their homes by various routes, after many amusing adventures. Colonel Caller and Major Wood became lost, and wandered on foot in the forest, causing great uneasiness to their friends. When General Claiborne arrived in the county, he wrote to Bailey, Tait and McNac, respectable half-breeds, urging them to hunt for these unfortunate men. They were afterwards found, starved almost to death, and bereft of their senses. They had been missing fifteen days.*

General Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne, the brother of the ex-Governor of the Mississippi Territory, was born in Sussex county, Virginia, of a family distinguished in that commonwealth, from the time of Charles I. On the 21st November,

* Conversations with Dr. Thomas G. Holmes, of Baldwin county, Alabama, the late Colonel Girard W. Creagh, of Clarke, and General Patrick May, of Greene, who were in the Burnt Corn expedition.

1793, in his twentieth year, he was appointed an ensign in Wayne's army, on the North-western frontier. He was in the great battle in which that able commander soon after defeated the Indians, and, for his good conduct, was promoted to a lieutenantcy. At the close of the war, he was stationed at Richmond and Norfolk, in the recruiting service, and, subsequently, was ordered to Pittsburg, Forts Washington, Greenville and Detroit, where he remained, with the rank of captain, and acting adjutant-general, until 1805, when he resigned, and removed to Natchez. He was soon afterwards a member of the Territorial legislature, and presided over its deliberations. We have already seen how active he was in arresting Aaron Burr, upon the Mississippi river, at the head of infantry and cavalry. On the 8th March, 1813, Colonel Claiborne was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers, and was ordered, by General Wilkinson, to take command of the post of Baton Rouge. In the latter part of July, he was ordered, by General Flournoy, to march, with his whole command, to Fort Stoddart, and instructed to direct his principal attention to "*the defence of Mobile.*" CHAPTER XXXII.

On the 30th July, General Claiborne reached Mount Vernon, near the Mobile river, with the rear-guard of his army, consisting of seven hundred men, whom he had chiefly sustained by supplies, raised by mortgages upon his own estate.* 1813 July 30

* Upon the conclusion of the Creek war, General Claiborne returned to Soldier's Retreat, his home, near Natchez, shattered in constitution, from the exposure and hardships of the campaigns, and died suddenly,

CHAPTER XXXII.

The quarter-master at Baton Rouge had only provided him with the small sum of two hundred dollars. He obtained, from the most reliable characters upon the eastern frontier, accurate information, in regard to the threatened invasion of the Indians, an account of the unfortunate result of the Burnt Corn expedition, and a written opinion of Judge Toulmin, respecting the critical condition of the country generally. It was found that alarm pervaded the populace. Rumors of the advance of the Indians were rife, and were believed. In Clarke county—in the fork of the rivers—a chain of rude defences had hastily been constructed by the citizens, and were filled, to overflowing, with white people and negroes. One of these was at Gullet's Bluff, upon the Tombigby, another at Easley's station, and the others at the residences of Sinquefield, Glass, White and Lavier. They were all called forts. Two block-houses were also in a state of completion, at St. Stephens.

The first step taken by Claiborne was the distribution of his troops, so as to afford the greatest protection to the inhabitants. He despatched Colonel Carson, with two hundred men, to the Fork, who arrived at Fort Glass without accident. A few hundred yards from that rude structure, he began the construction of Fort Madison. He sent Captain Scott to St. Stephens, with a company, which immediately occupied the

1813 August 10

at the close of 1815. The vouchers, for the liberal expenditures which he made, were lost, and his *property was sold.*

CHAPTER XXXII.

old Spanish block-house. He employed Major Hinds, with the mounted dragoons, in scouring the country, while he distributed some of the militia of Washington county for the defence of the stockades. Captain Dent was despatched to Oaktupa, where he assumed the command of a fort, with two block-houses, within a mile of the Choctaw line.*

1813 August 23

* MS. papers of General F. L. Claiborne.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

TERRIBLE MASSACRE AT FORT MIMS.

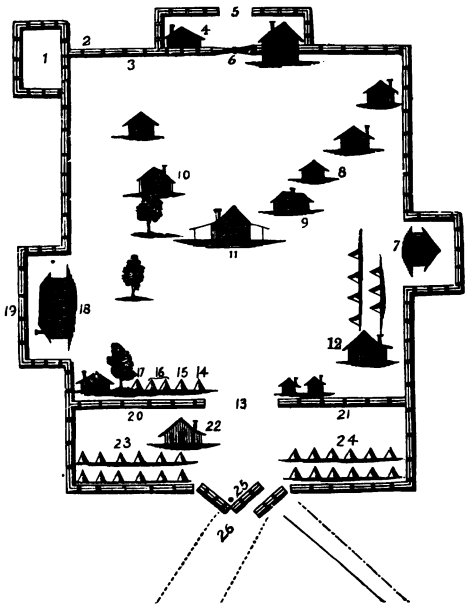
CHAPTER XXXIII.

In the meantime, the wealthy half-bloods about Little river had dropped down the Alabama, in their boats, and had secreted themselves in the swamp about Lake Tensaw. Uniting with the whites, they soon began the construction of a fort around the residence of Samuel Mims, a wealthy Indian countryman, to whom we have often alluded, and who, originally, was one of the pack-horsemen of the Honorable George Galphin.

Being about to relate a horrible affair, in which people of all ages and both sexes were subjected to savage butchery, a particular description of the place where it occurred is deemed necessary. Mims lived within four hundred yards of the Boat Yard, upon Lake Tensaw, a mile east of the Alabama river, and two miles below the Cut-Off. His house was a large frame building, of one story, with spacious shed-rooms. Around it pickets were driven, between which fence rails were placed. Five hundred port-holes were made, three and a half feet only from the ground. The stockading enclosed an acre of ground, in a square form, and was entered by two

DRAWING OF FORT MIMS,

Found among Gen. Claiborne's manuscript papers.



REFERENCES.

1 Block House.
2 Pickets cut away by the Indians.
3 Guard's Station.
4 Guard House.
5 Western Gate, but not up.
6 This Gate was shut, but a hole was cut through by the Indians.
7 Captain Bailey's Station.
8 Steadham's House.
9 Mrs. Dyer's House.
10 Kitchen.
11 Mims' House.
12 Randon's House.
13 Old Gate-way—open.
14 Ensign Chambliss' Tent.
15 Ensign Gibbs'.
16 Randon's.
17 Captain Middleton's.
18 Captain Jack's Station.
19 Port-holes taken by Indians.
20 21 Port-holes taken by Indians.
22 Major Beasley's Cabin.
23 Captain Jack's Company.
24 Captain Middleton's Company.
25 Where Major Beasley fell.
26 Eastern Gate, where the Indians entered.

ponderous but rude gates, one on the east and the other on the west. Within the enclosure, besides the main building, were various out-houses, rows of bee-gums, together with cabins and board shelters, recently erected by the settlers, wherever a vacant spot appeared. At the south-west corner a block-house was begun, but never finished. This defence was situated on a very slight elevation. A large potatoe-field lay adjoining, on the south, in which were a row of negro-houses. Woods intervened between the picketing and the lake, while, in a northern direction, cane swamps, which grew denser as they approached the river, were hard by. On the east, the flat lands continued for several miles, interspersed with cane marshes and some ravines. It was, altogether, a most ill-chosen place for a fort, as it ultimately proved.* CHAPTER XXXIII.

No sooner was Fort Mims partially finished, than the citizens poured in, with their provisions and effects. Colonel Carson, who had reached Mount Vernon in advance of Claiborne, sent over Lieutenant Osborne, with sixteen men. Afterwards Claiborne despatched one hundred and seventy-five more volunteers to Fort Mims, under the command of Major Daniel Beasley, with Captains Jack, Batchelor and Middleton. He found seventy militia upon duty, commanded, for the present, by Dunn and Plummer, two inexperienced officers. Permitting them to elect their officers; the brave Dixon Bailey was unanimously chosen for the post of captain, and —— Crawford for ensign. The next day, General Claiborne, arri- 1813 July 28 August 6 August 7

* Conversations with Dr. Thomas G. Holmes, of Baldwin.

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ving at Fort Mims and inspecting the works, addressed a general order of instructions to Beasley, charging him "to strengthen the picketing, build two more block-houses, respect the enemy, to send out scouts frequently, and allow the suffering people provisions, whether whites or friendly Indians." Returning to his head-quarters, at Mount Vernon, he, for the moment, directed his attention to other portions of the frontiers.* In the meantime, Major Beasley had extended the picketing on the east side, sixty feet deep, forming a separate apartment, for the accommodation of the officers and their baggage. He greatly weakened his command, by sending small detachments to Forts Madison, Easley, Pierce, and Joshua Kennedy's saw-mill, where citizens had collected, and asked for assistance.† At this mill the government had a large contract for lumber, to put Fort Charlotte, of Mobile, in repair, and build a fort at Mobile Point, and it was deemed necessary to strengthen it with troops, to prevent the Indians from burning it down.‡

The whole population of Fort Mims, consisting of whites, Indians, soldiers, officers and negroes, now amounted to five hundred and fifty-three souls. Crowded together, in an Alabama swamp, in the month of August, much sickness prevailed.§ In the meantime, Crawford was dismissed from the post of ensign, for having deserted from the regular army,

* Claiborne's MS. papers.

† Conversations with Dr. Thomas G. Holmes.

‡ Claiborne's MS. papers.

§ Conversations with Dr. Thomas G. Holmes.

and Peter Randon, a half-breed, was appointed in his place. Beasley kept up a correspondence with Claiborne, several times acquainting him with alarms, which turned out to be false*

The Creeks, whom we left returning to Pensacola, from the battle-ground of Burnt Corn, were again liberally supplied with arms and ammunition. Making their way back to the Tallapoosa, without molestation, active preparations were made by them for immediate war. Warriors, from the towns of Hoithlewale, Fooshatche, Cooloome, Ecunhutke, Souvanoga, Mooklausa, Alabama, Oakchoieooche, Pockuschatche, Ochebofa, Puckuntallahasse, Wewocoe, and Woccocoie, marched in a southern direction, while others, from Tallase, Auttose and Ocfuske, formed a front of observation towards Coweta, to conceal the movement.†

Associated with McQueen and Francis was William Weatherford, the son of Charles Weatherford, a Georgian, who had lived almost a life-time in the Creek nation. His mother, Sehoy, was the half-sister of General McGillivray, and a native of Hickory Ground. William was uneducated, but was a man of great native intellect, fine form, and commanding

* Claiborne's MS. papers.

† Indian Affairs, vol. 1, 858. The Spaniards and the British agents charged McQueen's party to "fight the Americans. If they prove too hard for you, send your women and children to Pensacola, and we will send them to Havana; and if you should be compelled to fly, yourselves, and the Americans should prove too hard for both of us, there are vessels enough to take us all off together." Ibid.

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person. His bearing was gentlemanly and dignified, and was coupled with an intelligent expression, which led strangers to suppose that they were in the presence of no ordinary man. His eyes were large, dark, brilliant and flashing. He was one of "nature's noblemen," a man of strict honor and unsurpassed courage. He was now with the large Indian army, conducting them down to attack the Tensaw settlers, among whom were his brother and several sisters, and also his half-brother, David Tait.* How unhappily were these people divided! His sister, Hannah McNac, with all her sons, belonged to the war party, while the husband was a true friend of the Americans, and had fled to them for protection.

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Weatherford led his army to the plantation of Zachariah McGirth, a little below the present Claiborne, where, capturing several negroes, among whom was an intelligent fellow, named Joe, from whom they learned the condition of Fort Mims, and the proper time to attack it, he halted for several days, to deliberate. One of the negroes escaped, and conveyed intelligence to the fort of the approach of the Indians. Major Beasley had continued to send out scouts daily, who were unable to discover traces of the enemy. The inmates had become inactive, free from alarm, and abandoned themselves to fun and frolic. The negro runner from McGirth's plantation now aroused them for a time, and Fort

* David Tait was the son of Colonel Tait, a British officer, who was stationed at the Hickory Ground, upon the Coosa, in 1778, as we have seen.

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Mims was further strengthened. But the Indians not appearing, the negro was pronounced to be a liar, and the activity of the garrison again abated. At length two young negro men were sent out, to mind some beef cattle, that grazed upon the luxuriant grass within a few miles of the fort. Suddenly, they came rushing through the gate, out of breath, and reported that they had counted twenty-four painted warriors. Captain Middleton, with a detachment of horse, was immediately despatched, with the negroes, to the place; but, being unable to discover the least sign of the enemy, returned about sunset, when one of the negroes, belonging to John Randon, was tied up and severely flogged, for alarming the garrison, with what Major Beasley deemed a sheer fabrication. Fletcher, the owner of the other, refused to permit him to be punished, because he believed his statement, which so incensed the major that he ordered him, with his large family, to depart from the fort by 10 o'clock the next day. The next morning Randon's negro was again sent out, to attend the cattle, but, seeing a large body of Indians, fled to Fort Pierce, being afraid to communicate the intelligence to those who had whipped him. In the meantime, Fletcher's negro, by the reluctant consent of his master, was tied up, and the lash about to be applied to his back; the officers were preparing to dine; the soldiers were reposing on the ground; some of the settlers were playing cards; the girls and young men were dancing, while a hundred thoughtless and happy children sported from door to door, and from tent to tent.

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At that awful moment, one thousand Creek warriors, ex-

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tended flat upon the ground, in a thick ravine, four hundred yards from the eastern gate, thirsted for American blood. No eyes saw them, but those of the chirping and innocent birds in the limbs above them. The mid-day sun sometimes flashed through the thick foliage, and glanced upon their yellow skins, but quickly withdrew, as if afraid longer to contemplate the murderous horde. There lay the prophets, covered with feathers, with black faces, resembling those monsters which partake of both beast and bird. Beside them lay curious medicine-bags and rods of magic. The whole ravine was covered with painted and naked savages, completely armed.

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The hour of 12 o'clock arrived, and the drum beat the officers and soldiers of the garrison to dinner. Then, by one simultaneous bound, the ravine was relieved of its savage burden, and soon the field resounded with the rapid tread of the bloody warriors. The sand had washed against the eastern gate, which now lay open. Major Beasley rushed, sword in hand, and essayed in vain to shut it. The Indians felled him to the earth, with their clubs and tomahawks, and, rushing over his body, into the additional part of the fort, left him a chance to crawl behind the gate, where he shortly after expired. To the last, he called upon the men to make a resolute resistance. The eastern part of the picketing was soon full of Indians, headed by five prophets, whom the Americans immediately shot down, while engaged in dancing and incantations. This greatly abated the ardor of the enemy, many of whom retreated through the gate, for the moment.

They had been assured that American bullets would split upon the sacred persons of the prophets, and pass off harmless. The unhappy inmates of Fort Mims now made all efforts to defend the place, but their attempts were confused and ineffective. The assailants, from the old line of picketing, in the additional part of the fort, and from the outside stockading, commenced a general fire upon the Americans. Soldiers, negroes, women and children, fell. Captain Middleton, in charge of the eastern section, was soon despatched, together with all his men. Captain Jack, on the south wing, with a company of riflemen, defended his position with great bravery. Lieutenant Randon fought from the guard-house, on the west, while Captain Dixon Bailey repulsed the enemy, to the best of his ability, on the northern line of pickets, against which much the largest number of Indians operated. The number of savages was so great that they apparently covered the whole field, and they now rent the air with their exulting shouts. Many of the younger prophets surrounded the main building, which was full of women and children, and danced around it, distorting their faces, and sending up the most unearthly screams. The pickets and houses afforded the Americans some protection, where the young men, the aged, and even the boys, fought with desperation. Captain Bailey was the man to whom the eyes of all the settlers were turned, at this critical moment. He maintained his position, and was the only officer who gained the port-holes before they were occupied by the enemy. His repeated discharges made lanes through the savage ranks. Fresh numbers renewed

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their efforts against him, and often an Indian and an American would plant their guns across the same port-hole, to shoot at each other. Bailey encouraged the whole population in the fort to fight, assuring them that Indians seldom fought long at one time, and, by holding out a little while longer, many would be saved. Failing in his entreaties to prevail upon several to rush through the enemy, to Fort Pierce, only two miles distant, there procure reinforcements, and attack the assailants in the rear, he resolved to go himself, and began to climb over the pickets for that purpose; but his neighbors, who loved him dearly, pulled him back.

About three o'clock, the Indians, becoming tired of the contest, plundered the additional part of the fort, and began to carry off the effects, to the house of Mrs. O'Neil, which lay three hundred yards distant, on the road to the ferry. Weatherford overtook them, on a fine black horse, and brought them back to the scene of action, after having impressed them by an animated address. About this time, Dr. Osborne, the surgeon, was shot through the body, and carried into Patrick's loom-house, where he expired, in great agony. The women now animated the men to defend them, by assisting in loading the guns and bringing water from the well. The most prominent among these was Mrs. Daniel Bailey, who, provoked at the cowardice of Sergeant Mathews, severely punctured him with a bayonet, as he lay trembling against the wall. Many instances of unrivalled courage could be enumerated, if our space permitted it. One of Jack's soldiers retreated to the half-finished block-house, after his com-

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mander and all his brothers-in-arms had fallen, and, from that point, discharged his gun at intervals, until he had killed over a dozen warriors. James and Daniel Bailey, the brothers of the gallant Captain, with other men, ascended to the roof of Mims's dwelling, knocked off some shingles, for port-holes, where they continued to shoot the lusty warriors on the outside of the picketing. But the superior force of the assailants enabled them constantly to bring fresh warriors into the action. They now set fire to the main building, and many of the out-houses. The shrieks of the women and children went up to high heaven.

To Patrick's loom-house had been attached some extra picketing, forming what was improperly termed a bastion. Hither Captain Bailey, and those of his command who survived, entered, and continued to pour upon the savages a most deadly fire. Many citizens attempted to reach that spot, now the only one of the least security. The venerable David Mims, attempting to pass to the bastion, received a large ball in the neck; the blood gushed out: he exclaimed, "Oh God, I am a dead man!" and fell upon his face. A cruel warrior cut around his head, and waved his hoary scalp exultingly in the air. Some poor Spaniards, who had deserted from the Pensacola garrison, kneeled around the well and crossed themselves, and, while interceding with the MOST HIGH, were despatched with tomahawks. "TO THE BASTION! TO THE BASTION!" was now the fearful cry of the survivors. Soon it was full to overflowing. The weak, wounded and feeble, were pressed to death and trodden under foot. The

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spot presented the appearance of one immense mass of human beings, herded together too close to defend themselves, and, like beeves in the slaughter-pen of the butcher, a prey to those who fired upon them. The large building had fallen, carrying with it the scorched bodies of the Baileys and others on the roof, and the large number of women and children in the lower story. The flames began to reach the people in the bastion. Dr. Thomas G. Holmes, an assistant surgeon in the garrison, seized an axe, cut some pickets in two, but did not take them down, suffering them to remain until a suitable opportunity offered to escape. The brave Dixon Bailey now cried aloud that ALL WAS LOST, that his family were to be butchered, and begged all to make their escape, if possible. His negro man, Tom, (still living, at Sisemore's plantation,) took up his favorite son, who was thirteen years of age, but feeble with the fever, and bore him through the pickets, which Holmes now threw down, and gained the woods in safety. But, strange to say, the infatuated negro presently brought back the poor boy to a squad of hostiles, who dashed out his brains with war-clubs. Little Ralph cried out, "Father, father, save me!" Of his HEAVENLY FATHER the poor little heathen had probably never heard.

In front of the northern line of picketing was a fence, fifty yards distant, in every lock of which many warriors had placed themselves, to cut off all retreat; besides which, others stationed themselves, at various points, to shoot those who should run. Dr. Holmes, Captain Bailey, and a negro woman named Hester, the property of Benjamin Steadham,

were the first to escape through the aperture. Holmes receiving, in his flight, several balls through his clothes, but no wounds, strangely made his way over the fence, gained the swamp, and concealed himself in a clay hole, formed by the prostration of an immense tree. Bailey reached the swamp, but, being badly wounded, died by the side of a cypress stump. Hester received a severe wound in the breast, but reached a canoe in the lake, paddled to Fort Stoddart that night, and was the first to give intelligence to General Claiborne of the horrible affair.

Returning again to the fatal spot, every house was seen to be in flames. The bastion was broken down, the helpless inmates were butchered in the quickest manner, and blood and brains bespattered the whole earth. The children were seized by the legs, and killed by beating their heads against the stockading. The women were scalped, and those who were pregnant were opened, while they were alive, and the embryo infants let out of the womb. Weatherford had, some time previous, left the horrid scene. He had implored the warriors to spare the women and children, and reproached them for their barbarity; but his own life was threatened, for interposing, many clubs were raised over his head, and he was forced to retire. In after years, he never thought of that bloody occasion without the most painful emotions. He had raised the storm, but he could not control it.

The British agents, at Pensacola, had offered a reward of five dollars for every American scalp. The Indians jerked the skin from the whole head, and, collecting all the effects which

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the fire had not consumed, retired to the east, one mile from the ruins, to spend the night, where they smoked their pipes and trimmed and dried their scalps. The battle had lasted from twelve to five o'clock.

Of the large number in the fort, all were killed or burned up, except a few half-bloods, who were made prisoners, some negroes, reserved for slaves, and the following persons, who made their escape and lived: Dr. Thomas G. Holmes; Hester, a negro woman; Socca, a friendly Indian; Peter Randon, lieutenant of citizen's company; Josiah Fletcher; Sergeant Mathews, the coward; Martin Rigdon; Samuel Smith, a half-breed; —— Mourrice, Joseph Perry, Mississippi volunteers; Jesse Steadham; Edward Steadham; John Hoven; —— Jones; and Lieutenant W. R. Chambliss, of the Mississippi volunteers.

Dr. Holmes lay concealed in the clay hole until nine o'clock at night. The Gin-House, at the Boat Yard, had been fired, and the conflagration threw a light over the surrounding country, in addition to that still afforded by the ruins of Fort Mims. Hence, he was forced to resume his position, until twelve o'clock, when the flames died away. Remembering that he had never learned to swim, he abandoned the idea which he first entertained, of crossing the Alabama, and making his way to Mount Vernon. He, therefore, bent his course towards the high lands. He frequently came upon small Indian fires, around which the bloody warriors lay in profound sleep. Bewildered and shocked, in every direction in which he turned, by unwelcome and fearful sights like these, he at

length, after a great deal of winding and turning, fell back into the river swamp, hid in a clump of thick canes, and there subsisted upon water, mutton reed and roots. All this time he was in the immediate neighborhood of the scene of the tragical events we have described, and heard, distinctly, the Indians killing the stock of the citizens. When silence ensued, after the fifth day, he made his way to the Race-Track, and from thence to Pine-Log Creek, where he spent the night. Reaching Buford's Island the next day, and seeing the tracks of people and horses, he determined to fall in with them, although they should prove to be hostile Indians, so desperate had he become from starvation. At the Tensaw Lake, Holmes found the horses tied, and, rejoicing to find that they belonged to his friends, fired off his gun. John Buford and his party, supposing the discharge proceeded from the war party, fled up into a bayou, in a boat, where they remained two days. The disappointed Holmes went to the abandoned house of Buford, where he fortunately obtained some poultry, which he devoured without cooking. Three days afterwards he was discovered by Captain Buford, and conveyed to Mount Vernon, where the other fourteen who escaped had arrived, and reported him among the slain.

Martin Rigdon, Samuel Smith, Joseph Perry, —— Mourrice, and Jesse Steadham, escaped through the picketing together. The latter was shot through the thigh, early in the action, and Mourrice in the shoulder. Leaping the fence in front of the bastion, over the heads of the squatting Indians,

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they reached the swamp, where they remained three days, when, finding an old canoe below the Boat Yard, they made their escape to Mount Vernon. Edward Steadham, who was wounded in the hand, while flying from the bastion, entered the swamp, swam the Alabama, above the Cut-Off, and arrived at Mount Vernon, four days after the massacre. All the others who escaped so miraculously made their way, with success, through the Indian ranks, and had many similar adventures, reaching the American head-quarters at the most imminent peril. Lieutenant Chambliss had received two severe wounds in the fort, and, in running across the field, received another. Reaching the woods, he crept into a log-heap. At night, a party of warriors set fire to it, for the purpose of smoking their pipes, and, when the heat was becoming intolerable, and he would soon have been forced to discover himself, they fortunately were called off, to another camp-fire. He left that place immediately, wandered about, and, for a long time, was supposed to be dead. He made his way, however, to Mount Vernon, and, from thence, went to Soldier's Retreat, the residence of General Claiborne, near Natchez, where Dr. John Coxe, an eminent surgeon, extracted two arrow-heads and a ball from his body.*

The day after the fall of Fort Mims, the Indians began to bury their dead, by laying their bodies between the potatoe-rows, and drawing dirt and vines over them; but, from the great number of the dead, it was abandoned. Many were

* Claiborne's MS. papers.

also wounded, who were put in canoes, and conveyed up the river. Others, wounded, started home on foot, and died at Burnt Corn Spring. Most of those who were unhurt remained in the neighborhood, to kill and plunder, while another party went to Pensacola, with the scalps, suspended upon poles.*

Zachariah McGirth was the son of James McGirth, who was, as we have seen, an unprincipled but brave man, and a captain of a company of tories, during the revolutionary war, called the "Florida Rangers," forming a part of a battalion commanded by his brother, Colonel Daniel McGirth. When the war terminated, Captain James McGirth fled to the Creek nation, with his children, among whom was Zachariah. The latter married a half-breed Creek woman, named Vicey Curnells, had become wealthy, and was now an inmate of Fort Mims, with his wife and eight children. About ten o'clock, on the day of the massacre, McGirth entered a boat, with two of his negroes, and went out of Lake Tensaw into the Alabama, with the view of ascending that river to his plantation, which was situated below Claiborne, for some provisions. Reaching the Cut-Off, he heard a heavy discharge of guns at Fort Mims. With pain and anxiety, he continued to listen to the firing, and, running his boat a mile down the river, in a small

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* I am indebted to Dr. Thomas G. Holmes, of Baldwin county, Alabama, for the prominent facts in the aforegoing narrative of the fall of Fort Mims. He made notes of the horrible affair a few years after the massacre took place, while the facts were fresh in his memory. I also conversed with Jesse Steadham, of Baldwin, and Lieutenant Peter Randon, the latter of whom I found in New-Orleans, who also escaped.

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bayou, resolved to remain there, being firmly impressed with the belief that the Indians had attacked the fort. Late in the evening the firing ceased, and presently he saw clouds of black smoke rise above the forest trees, which was succeeded by flames. The unhappy McGirth now well knew that all was lost, and that, in all probability, his family had perished in the flames. Being a bold man, like his father, he resolved to go through the swamp, with his negroes, to the fatal spot. When he came within a quarter of a mile of the fort, he placed the negroes in a concealed place, and approached alone. All was gloomy and horrible. Dogs, in great number, ran all over the woods, terrified beyond measure. Seeing that the savages had left the ruins, he returned for his negroes, and, a little after twilight, cautiously advanced. McGirth stood aghast at the horrible spectacle. Bodies lay in piles, in the sleep of death, bleeding, scalped, mutilated. His eyes everywhere fell upon forms half burned up, but still

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cracking and frying upon the glowing coals. In vain did he and his faithful slaves seek for the bodies of his family. Pile after pile was turned over, but no discovery could be made, for the features of but few could be recognized. He turned his back upon the bloody place, crossed the swamp to his boat, and paddled down the Alabama to Mount Vernon, with a sad and heavy heart.

McGirth, now alone in the world, became a desperate man, ready to brave the greatest dangers for the sake of revenge. During the Creek war, he was often employed in riding expresses from the Tombigby to Georgia, when no one else

could be found daring enough to go through the heart of the enemy's country. After a long service, amid such dangers, a friend accosted him one day, in Mobile, and told him some people desired to see him at the wharf. Repairing there, he saw—a common sight in those days—some wretched Indians, who had been captured. He was asked if he knew them. Hesitating, his wife and seven children advanced and embraced him. A torrent of joy and profound astonishment overwhelmed him. He trembled like a leaf, and was, for some minutes, speechless.

Many years before the dreadful massacre at Fort Mims, a little hungry Indian boy, named Sanota—an orphan, houseless and friendless—stopped at the house of Vicey McGirth. She fed and clothed him, and he grew to athletic manhood. He joined the war party, and formed one of the expedition against Fort Mims. Like the other warriors, he was engaged in hewing and hacking the females to pieces, towards the close of the massacre, when he suddenly came upon Mrs. McGirth and his foster-sisters. Pity and gratitude taking possession of his heart, he thrust them in a corner, and nobly made his broad savage breast a rampart for their protection. The next day he carried them off, upon horses, towards the Coosa, under the pretence that he had reserved them from death for his slaves. Arriving at his home, he sheltered them, hunted for them, and protected them from Indian brutality. One day he told his adopted mother that he was going to fight Jackson, at the Horse-Shoe, and that, if he should be killed, she must endeavor to reach her friends below. Sure enough,

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the noble Sanota soon lay among the slain at Cholocco Litebixee. Mrs. McGirth now being without a protector, and in a hostile region, started off on foot, with her children, for Fort Claiborne. After much suffering, they reached their deserted farm, below Claiborne, where Major Blue, at the head of a company of horse, discovered these miserable objects, and carried them to Mobile, where the interview just related took place, with the astonished husband, who imagined that he had, some months before, surveyed their half-burnt bodies, upon the field of Fort Mims. His son was the only member of his family who had perished upon that bloody occasion.*

General Claiborne despatched Major Joseph P. Kennedy, with a strong detachment, to Fort Mims, from his head-quarters at Mount Vernon, for the purpose of interring the dead.

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Upon arriving there, Kennedy found the air darkened with buzzards, and hundreds of dogs, which had run wild, gnawing upon the human carcasses. The troops, with heavy hearts, succeeded in interring many bodies, in two large pits, which they dug. "Indians, negroes, white men, women and children, lay in one promiscuous ruin. All were scalped, and the females, of every age, were butchered in a manner which neither decency nor language will permit me to describe. The main building was burned to ashes, which were filled with bones. The plains and the woods around were covered with

* Conversations with Colonel Robert James, of Clarke county, Alabama, who often heard McGirth relate these particulars. McGirth, in 1834, made the same statements to me.

dead bodies. All the houses were consumed by fire, except the block-house, and a part of the pickets. The soldiers and officers, with one voice, called on Divine Providence to revenge the death of our murdered friends."*

In drawing our account of this sanguinary affair to a conclusion, it is proper to observe that General Claiborne was in no way to blame for the unfortunate result. He corresponded with Beasley, heard from him almost every day, and in his despatches constantly urged him to be prepared to meet the enemy. Claiborne, from every quarter, received distressing messages imploring assistance, and we have already seen how judiciously he distributed his forces, as far as it lay in his power, for their protection, contrary to the instructions of Flournoy, who endeavored to confine his operations chiefly to the defence of Mobile and the country below Ellicott's line. Just before the attack upon Fort Mims, he headed a large detachment of horse, and rushed to the defence of the people at Easley's station, upon the Tombigby, near the Choctaw line, whom he was induced to believe a large party of Choctaws and Creeks intended shortly to attack. They, however, did not appear, and, leaving a strong guard for the defence of that fort, he hastened back to Mount Vernon, and arrived there at twelve o'clock at night, after a march of seventy miles that day. He was there shocked to learn the fate of the garrison of Fort Mims. Supposing that he had already returned to Mount Vernon, Beasley addressed him a letter, *two hours*,

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* Major Kennedy's MS. report to General Claiborne.

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only, before the Indians entered the gate, declaring his ability to maintain the post against any number of the enemy.* The major was as brave a man as ever lived, but neither he nor his officers, attached to the Mississippi division, believed that the enemy were at hand, so often had reports reached them, which they pronounced untrue, because they were not immediately realized, as in the case of the negro who was whipped, and of the other, who was killed by the Indians, while tied up, ready to receive the lash.†

* Beasley's letter, found among Claiborne's MS. papers.

† The people at Fort Pierce, when the attack was made at Fort Mims, made their way, under Lieutenant Montgomery, to Mobile, where they safely arrived.

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DARING OF HEATON—BLOODY SCENES—GAINES AND THE CHOCTAWS.

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WHILE the larger body of Creeks were destroying the people at Fort Mims, Francis, the prophet, at the head of a hundred warriors, was spreading his depredations in the fork of the Alabama and Tombigby. Abner James and Ransom Kemball, with their large families, being inmates of Fort Sinquefield, and becoming dissatisfied at remaining among so many people, repaired to the house of Kemball, situated two miles from the fort. Here they were living, when Francis suddenly surrounded the house, about three o'clock in the evening. Abner James, his son Thomas, then fourteen years of age, and his daughter Mary, escaped, and fled to the fort. Isam Kemball, then sixteen years of age, also safely reached Sinquefields, and is now the clerk of the Circuit Court of Clarke county. All the others were despatched with war-clubs, and scalped. After killing the stock and robbing the house, the Indians retired to the swamps. In the early part of the night, a slight rain commenced, which, it is believed, revived Sarah Merrill, the married daughter of James, whom

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the Indians had supposed to be dead. She felt among the bodies, which lay thick around her, and found her little boy, twelve months old, who also, fortunately, was alive. Some warm milk from her breast revived him more and more. Taking him in her arms, she, with difficulty, got upon her feet, and slowly walked towards the fort. Arriving within a half mile of that place, her bleeding wounds, weakening her at every step, forced her to place the babe by the side of a log, while she went on and communicated his hiding-place to the anxious garrison. Some generous men boldly sallied out, found the boy, and brought him to the fort. They are both now alive. The young woman was severely beaten with large clubs, and the scalp of the entire top of her head taken off. The savages slung the little fellow against the side of the house, and cut around his head, but his hair being too short, they did not pull off his scalp.

Hearing of the murders, Colonel Carson despatched from Fort Montgomery Lieutenant Bailey, with seven dragoons, and three men employed as spies, to bury the dead, and ascertain if the Indians were numerous. Twelve bodies were conveyed to Fort Sinquefield, in an ox-cart, and thrown into a pit, dug fifty yards from the gate. About the time that the funeral ceremonies were closing, and while nearly the whole garrison were engaged therein, Francis suddenly rushed, with a hundred warriors, down a hill, towards them. The men snatched up the children, and every one of them reached the gate in time, except about ten women, at the spring, who were engaged in washing. The Indians, failing to cut off the

retreat of the main party, perceived with delight the helpless condition of these females, and rushed in that direction, to secure them. Just at that moment, Isaac Heaton, who had been out cow-hunting, riding up, with his long whip and large pack of dogs, gave a tremendous crack, and, encouraging his canine army, charged upon the Indians. Such was the fury of the dogs, that the Creeks were forced to halt and fight them, which enabled Heaton to cover the retreat of the women, until they arrived safely in the fort. His horse fell under him, from the wound of an Indian gun, but rose again, and followed into the fort his heroic master, who had received no other injury than the riddling of his coat with rifle-balls. Only one poor woman—a Mrs. Philips, who was in an advanced state of pregnancy—was overtaken and scalped.

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Heaton deserves to be remembered for this achievement—an eminent exemplification of bravery and presence of mind. The Indians now attacked the little stockade, but a brave resistance repelled them, with the loss of eleven warriors. Then, securing the dragoon horses, which had been tethered outside the walls, the savages rapidly retired. The Americans, having lost only one of their number, besides the unfortunate Mrs. Philips, the next day evacuated Sinquefield's fort, and marched to Fort Madison, for better security, where the inmates of Forts Glass and Lavier had also flocked, swelling the population to over one thousand souls, including the command of Colonel Carson, of two hundred and twenty men.

September 4

Occasionally, the farmers were accustomed to leave Fort Madison, for a few hours, to procure from their fields provi-

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1813 September 6

sions for immediate use. A man, named Fisher, with three of his sons, set out for that purpose, and, arriving at the farm, one of the boys was shot in the back, while shelling some peas in the yard. Instantly rising up, he made his escape to to the woods. His father, then in the cane, running out to learn the cause of the firing, was also severely wounded in the back, but likewise made his way to the forest. The other two sons, being in a different part of the field, fled to the fort, and reported the death of their brother and father. The next day, however, they came in, bleeding from their wounds, and happily recovered.*

These things, following so closely upon the fall of Fort Mims, filled the whole population of the eastern section of the Mississippi Territory with the greatest panic imaginable, and every soul went into some kind of defensive work. Fort Hawn, at Gullet's Bluff, contained a mixed population of three hundred and ninety-one souls, including sixty men under Captain James Powell, of the eighth regiment of Mississippi militia. At Mount Vernon were two forts, literally packed with people. Rankin's fort contained five hundred and thirty persons—of whom only eighty-seven were capable of bearing arms, in consequence of the sickness which everywhere prevailed in these filthy stockades. Fort Charlotte, of Mobile, was also daily receiving families. To this place Judge Toulmin and a number of his neighbors had

* Conversations with the late Colonel Gerard W. Creagh, of Clarke county, Colonel Jere. Austill, of Mobile, and others. See, also, Claiborne's MS. papers.

repaired. Perhaps greater inquietude existed at St. Stephens than at any other point, if, indeed, any line of distinction can be drawn. Claiborne, all the time, was harassed by distressing messages, which hourly reached him, and his generous heart was racked, day and night, in revolving plans to assist them all; but he was unable to do more than he had already accomplished, on account of the smallness of his army and the restrictions put upon him by the commander-in-chief. CHAPTER XXXIV.

The enemy continued to spread their depredations, distributing themselves in all directions, burning the abandoned houses, driving off the cattle, and herding the hogs in the corn-fields, to fatten, that their flesh might be in good order for their feastings. Colonel Carson's condition was unknown to Claiborne, and, from the continued reports which he received, that a combined attack was soon to be made upon Fort Madison, the general transmitted him an order to abandon his post, and march to St. Stephens, which was deemed a more important point to defend. The order was *discretionary*, however, but Carson and his officers viewed it as rather *peremptory*. He started, with all his force, to St. Stephens, accompanied by five hundred settlers, of all ages and sexes. This created great consternation in the Fork, and Claiborne was unjustly denounced, for having abandoned the whole population of Clarke county. But if Carson had chosen to remain, it would have fully accorded with the views of the general. The movement was unnecessary, and served to embolden the savages. When the evacuation took place, eighty citizens enrolled themselves, under Captain Evan Aus- 1813 September 8

CHAPTER XXXIV.

till and Captain Sam Dale, (the latter still suffering from the desperate wound which he received at Burnt Corn,) all of whom determined to stay within Fort Madison, to protect a number of citizens, who preferred to remain. A despatch from Claiborne, dated the 8th of September, urging Carson "not to abandon the fort, unless it was clear that he could not maintain it," arrived too late, as that officer was already in the neighborhood of St. Stephens.*

The British were hovering along the coast, to give their red friends countenance and aid. A British war schooner had anchored at Pensacola, with a large supply of munitions of war. Afterwards, Mexco Gonzales Manique, the Governor of Pensacola, addressed a letter to Weatherford and the Chiefs, congratulating them on their late victory at Fort Mims, assuring them of his constant aid, but dissuading them from setting fire to Mobile, as that place properly belonged to the King of Spain, which his majesty would shortly re-occupy.†

1813 September 29

While all was doubt and uncertainty as to the position which the Choctaws would assume, at this critical juncture, Pushmatahaw, the most enlightened and influential Chief of that nation, rode to St. Stephens, and proposed to Mr. George S. Gaines to enlist several companies of his warriors in the

* Claiborne's MS. papers.

† This letter was found in Weatherford's house, at the Holy Ground, several months afterwards, and is yet among the MS. papers of General Claiborne. All these papers furnish the most indubitable evidence of the coalition between the Spaniards and English, to exterminate the population of the Mississippi Territory.

American cause. Gratified at the proposition, the latter hastened with the Chief to Mobile, and had an interview with General Flournoy, in Fort Charlotte, who strangely declined to receive the Choctaws as United States soldiers. With deep mortification, Gaines and the Chief returned to St. Stephens, and while the citizens, who had surrounded them when they rode up, were cursing Flournoy for his folly, a horse was seen at a distance, bearing a rider with great speed. Flournoy had reconsidered the matter, and had sent a messenger, authorizing Gaines to go into the Choctaw nation to raise troops. The people gave a shout, and all hearts were made glad. Every one had feared that the Choctaws would join the Creeks, and now, through the influence of Pushmatahaw, it was believed they would actually assist the Americans. In company with Colonel Flood McGrew and the Chief, Gaines departed immediately for the Choctaw country, with no other provisions than some jerked beef. Colonel John McKee, agent of the Chickasaws, met them at Peachland's, where they held a consultation, while Pushmatahaw went home, to assemble his people in council. They were living under three distinct governments: the eastern district was governed by Pushmatahaw, the western by Puckshenubbee, and the north-western by Mushelatubba. In a few days Gaines reached the council-ground, where over five thousand Choctaws were encamped. Pushmatahaw harangued them in a long speech, full of eloquence and ingenuity, in which he said, among many other things, "You know Tecumseh. He is a bad man. He came through our nation, but

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did not turn our heads. He went among the Muscogees, and got many of them to join him. You know the Tensaw people. They were our friends. They played ball with us. They sheltered and fed us, whenever we went to Pensacola. Where are they now? Their bodies rot at Sam Mims's place. The people at St. Stephens are also our friends. The Muscogees intend to kill them too. They want soldiers to defend them. (He here drew out his sword, and flourishing it, added:) You can all do as you please. You are all freemen. I dictate to none of you. But I shall join the St. Stephens people. If you have a mind to follow me, I will lead you to glory and to victory!" A warrior rose up, slapped his hand upon his breast, and said: "I am a man! I am a man! I will follow you!" All of them now slapped their breasts, a general shout went up, and Gaines was filled with joy at the result.

In the meantime, Colonel McKee was equally successful with the Chickasaws, being greatly aided in his efforts by the influence of John Peachland. McKee, at the head of a large force of Chickasaws, marched to the Tuscaloosa Falls, to attack the Creek town at that place, but found it reduced to ashes. The inhabitants had fled. Returning to Peachland's, at the mouth of the Octibaha, the force separated, one party going to their homes and the other to St. Stephens, to join General Claiborne, who had laudably exerted himself to procure the aid of these powerful tribes.*

1813 October

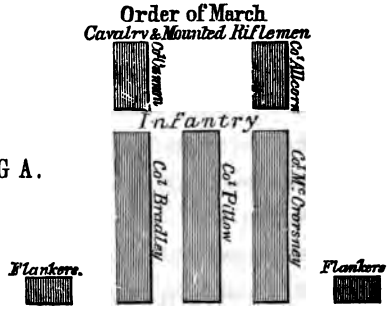
* Conversations with Mr. George S. Gaines. See Claiborne's MS. papers.

PLAN

OF THE

BATTLE OF

TALLADEGA.



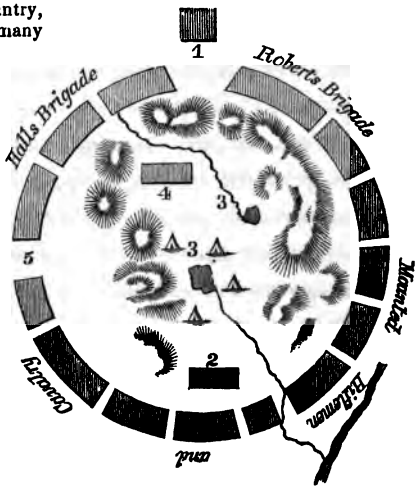
REFERENCES.

1 Jackson's position.
2 Friendly Indians.
3 Hostile Indians encamped around the Spring.
4 Advance under Col. Carroll, sent forward to bring on the engagement.
5 Gap between the Cavalry and Infantry, through which many Indians escaped.



Order of Battle.





CHAPTER XXXV.

BATTLES OF TALLASEHATCHE, TALLADEGA AND AUTTOSE.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE arrival of an express, at Nashville, with letters from Mr. George S. Gaines to General Jackson and the governor, conveying the distressing intelligence of the massacre at Fort Mims, and imploring their assistance, created great excitement, and the Tennesseans volunteered their services to avenge the outrage. General Jackson, at the head of a large force, passed through Huntsville, crossed the Tennessee at Ditto's Landing, and joined Colonel Coffee, who had been despatched in advance, and who had encamped opposite the upper end of an island on the south side of the river, three miles above the landing. Remaining here a short time, the army advanced higher up, to Thompson's Creek, to meet supplies, which had been ordered down from East Tennessee. In the meantime, Colonel Coffee marched, with six hundred horse, to Black Warrior's town, upon the river of that name, a hundred miles distant, which he destroyed by fire, having found it abandoned. Collecting about three hundred bushels of corn, he rejoined the main army at Thompson's Creek,

1813 October 11

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1813 October 28

without having seen an Indian. Establishing a defensive depot at this place, called Fort Deposite, Jackson, with great difficulty, cut his way over the mountains to Wills' Creek, where, being out of bread, he encamped several days, to allow his foraging parties to collect provisions. The contractors had entirely failed to meet their engagements, and his army had, for some days, been in a perishing condition.

Jackson despatched Colonel Dyer, with two hundred cavalry, to attack the village of Littefutchee, situated at the head of Canoe Creek, twenty miles distant. They arrived

October 29

there at four o'clock in the morning, burned down the town, and returned with twenty-nine prisoners, consisting of men, women and children. Another detachment, sent out to bring in beeves and corn, returned with two negroes and four Indians, of the war party. These prisoners, together with two others brought in by Old Chinnobe and his son, were sent to Huntsville.

The Creeks having assembled at the town of Tallasehatche, thirteen miles from the camp, the commander-in-chief despatched Coffee, now promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, with one thousand men, with one-half of whom he was directed to attack the enemy, and with the other half to scour the country near the Ten Islands, for the purpose of covering his operations. Richard Brown, with a company of Creeks and Cherokees, wearing on their heads distinguishing badges of white feathers and deer's tails, accompanied the expedition. Fording the Coosa at the Fish Dam, four miles above the islands, Coffee advanced to Tallasehatche, surrounded it at

CHAPTER XXXV.

the rising of the sun, and was fiercely met by the savages, with whoops and the sounding of drums—the prophets being in advance. Attacking the decoy companies, they were soon surrounded by the troops, who charged them with great slaughter. After a short but terrible action, eighty-four women and children were made prisoners, while the bodies of one hundred and eighty-six warriors were counted upon the field, where, unavoidably, some women also perished. Many other bodies lay concealed in the weeds. Five Americans were killed and eighteen wounded. Late in the evening of the same day, Coffee re-crossed the Coosa, and reached head-quarters. Not a solitary warrior begged for his life, and it is believed none escaped to the woods. These prisoners were also sent to Huntsville. General Jackson, now forcing his way over the Coosa mountain, arrived at the Ten Islands, where he began to erect a second depot for supplies, which was protected by strong picketing and block-houses, and which received the name of Fort Strother.

1813 November 8

In Lashley's fort in the Talladega town, many friendly Creeks had taken refuge. The war party, in strong force, had surrounded them so effectually, that not a solitary warrior could escape from the fort unseen, to convey to the American camp intelligence of their critical condition. One night, a prominent Indian, who belonged to the Hickory Ground town, resolved to escape to the lines of Jackson, by Indian stratagem. He threw over him the skin of a large hog, with the head and legs attached, and placing himself in a stooping position, went out of the fort and crawled about before the camps of

CHAPTER XXXV.

the hostiles, grunting and apparently rooting, until he slowly got beyond the reach of their arrows. Then, discarding his swinish mantle, he fled with the speed of lightning to Jackson, who resolved immediately to relieve these people. The commander-in-chief, leaving a small guard to protect his camp and sick, put his troops in motion at the hour of midnight, and forded the Coosa, here six hundred yards wide, with a rocky, uneven bottom. Each horseman carried behind him a footman, until the whole army was over. Late that evening he encamped within six miles of Talladega. At four o'clock the next morning, Jackson surrounded the enemy, making a wide circuit, with twelve hundred infantry and eight hundred cavalry. The hostiles, to the number of one thousand and eighty, were concealed in a thick shrubbery that covered the margin of a small rivulet, and at eight o'clock they received a heavy fire from the advance guard under Colonel Carroll. Screaming and yelling most horribly, the enemy rushed forth in the direction of General Roberts' brigade, a few companies of which gave way at the first fire. Jackson directed Colonel Bradley to fill the chasm with his regiment, which had not advanced in a line with the others; but that officer failing to obey the order, Colonel Dyer's reserve dismounted, and met the approaching enemy with great firmness. The retreating militia, mortified at seeing their places so promptly filled, recovered their former position, and displayed much bravery. The action now became general along the whole line, while the Indians, who had at first fought courageously, were now seen flying in all directions. But,

1813 November 8

November 9

owing to the halt of Bradley's regiment, and the cavalry under Alcorn having taken too wide a circuit, many escaped to the mountains. A general charge was made, and the wood for miles was covered with dead savages. Their loss was very great, and could not be ascertained. However, two hundred and ninety-nine bodies were counted on the main field. Fifteen Americans were killed, and eighty-five wounded. The latter were conveyed to Fort Strother in litters made of raw hides. The fort contained one hundred and sixty friendly warriors, with their wives and children, who were all to have been butchered the very morning that Jackson attacked their assailants. Never was a party of poor devils more rejoiced at being relieved. General Pillow of the infantry, Colonel Lauderdale of the cavalry, Major Boyd of the mounted riflemen, and Lieutenant Barton, were wounded—the last named mortally. Colonel Bradley was arrested for disobedience of orders, but was released without a trial. Jackson buried his dead, and marched back to Fort Strother as rapidly as possible, for he was out of provisions. Arriving there, he was mortified to find none at that point for him.*

CHAPTER XXXV.

1813 November 9

November 11

About the time that the Middle and West Tennessee volunteers flocked to the standard of Jackson, a large body of volunteers from East Tennessee rendezvoused to march to the

* A portion of the Talladega battle-field is now (1851) embraced within the limits of the beautiful and flourishing American town of that name, which contains a population of near two thousand, and is situated in a delightful valley, with magnificent mountain scenery in view.

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seat of war under Major-General John Cocke. Shortly afterwards, General White, commanding a detachment of one thousand men, belonging to Cocke's force, advanced to Turkey

1813 November 5 Town. From this place he reported to Jackson that he would, the next day, march in the direction of head-quarters, and should, in the meantime, be glad to receive his orders.

November 7 The latter ordered him to march to Fort Strother, and protect that place during his absence to Talladega, where, he informed him, he intended immediately to march to the relief of the garrison of Lashley's fort. While White was on the march to Fort Strother, to comply with this requisition, he received a despatch from General Cocke, ordering him to alter his route, and form a junction with him at the mouth of the Chattooga. This order he obeyed, preferring to comply with the commands of Cocke rather than those of Jackson, although the latter was generally considered the commander-in-chief of all the troops from Tennessee. Jackson was shocked at receiving an account of the retrograde march of White, and that, too, at a late hour of night, previous to the battle of Talladega; and it determined him to attack the Indians forthwith, and rush back to Fort Strother, now left with a very feeble protection.

However, before General White had reached Turkey Town, his advance-guard, consisting of four hundred Cherokees and a few whites under Colonel Gideon Morgan and John Lowrey, advanced upon the town of Tallasehatche on the evening of the 3d November, and found that it had that morning

been destroyed by Coffee. Collecting twenty of the wounded Indians, they returned with them to Turkey Town.

The mischiefs of a want of concert between the East and West Tennessee troops—growing out of a jealousy of the former, and a strong desire to share some of the glory which the latter had already acquired in the few battles they had fought—were, in a very few days, made quite apparent. Through Robert Graison, an aged Scotchman, the Hillabees (a portion of whom fought Jackson at Talladega) made offers of peace, to which the general immediately and willingly acceded. At that very time, and when Graison had hastened back with the favorable reply of Jackson, General White surrounded the Hillabee town early in the morning, and effected a complete surprise, killing sixty warriors and taking two hundred and fifty prisoners. The Hillabees, it is asserted, made not the slightest resistance. At all events, not a drop of Tennessee blood was spilt. The other Hillabee towns, viewing this as flagrant treachery on the part of *Jackson*, became the most relentless enemies of the Americans, and afterwards fought them with fiendish desperation. The destruction of this town was in pursuance of the orders of General Cocke. White, in marching down, had already destroyed Little Ocfuske and Genalga, both of which had been abandoned by the inhabitants, with the exception of five warriors, who were captured at the former.

1813 November 18

November 18

General Cocke having given up the ambition of achieving separate victories, was now prepared to co-operate with Jack-

CHAPTER XXXV. 1813 son, and for that purpose joined him at Fort Strother with fourteen hundred men. He was sent, by the commander-in-
December 12 chief, back to East Tennessee, with a portion of his command, whose term of service had nearly expired, with orders to raise fifteen hundred men, and rejoin him in the Creek nation.

Georgia, no less patriotic than Tennessee, soon came to the relief of her brethren of the Mississippi Territory. Brigadier-General John Floyd crossed the Ockmulgee, Flint and Chattahoochie, and advanced near the Tallapoosa, with an army of nine hundred and fifty militia, and four hundred friendly Indians, piloted by Abram Mordecai, the Jew trader, of whom we have so often had occasion to speak. Before
November 29 sunrise, on a cold frosty morning, Floyd attacked the Creeks, who were assembled in great force at the town of Auttose, which was situated on the east bank of the Tallapoosa, at the mouth of the Calebee Creek. Booth's battalion, which composed the right column, marched from the centre—Watson's composed the left, and marched from its right. Upon the flanks were the rifle companies of Adams and Merriweather—the latter commanded by Lieutenant Hendon. The artillery, under Captain Thomas, advanced in the road in front of the right column. General Floyd intended to surround the town, by throwing the right wing on Calebee Creek, at the mouth of which he was informed the town stood, and resting the left on the river bank below it; but the dawn of day exhibited, to his surprise, a second town, about five hundred yards below. It was now necessary to change the plan of attack,

by advancing three companies of infantry to the lower town, accompanied by Merriweather's rifles, and two troops of light dragoons commanded by Captains Irwin and Steele. The remainder of the army marched upon the upper town, and soon the battle became general. The Indians at first advanced, and fought with great resolution; but the fire from the artillery, with the charge of the bayonets, drove them into the out-houses and thickets, in rear of the town. Many concealed themselves in caves cut in the bluff of the river, here thickly covered with cane. The admirable plans of General Floyd for the extermination of the foe, were not properly executed, owing to the failure of the friendly Indians to cross the Tallapoosa to the west side, and there cut off all retreat. The difficulty of the ford and the coolness of the morning deterred them, as they stated; but fear, in all probability, was the prime cause. They now irregularly fell back to the rear of the army. However, the Cowetas under McIntosh, and the Tookabatchas under the Mad Dragon's Son, fell into the ranks, and fought with great bravery. The hour of nine o'clock witnessed the abandonment of the ground by the enemy, and the conflagration of the houses. From the number of bodies scattered over the field, together with those burnt in the houses and slain on the bluff, it is believed that two hundred must have perished, among whom were the Kings of Tallase and Auttose. The number of buildings burned, some of which were of fine Indian architecture and filled with valuable articles, amounted to about four hundred.

1813 November 29

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The Americans had eleven men killed and fifty-four wounded. The friendly Indians had several killed and wounded. Important services were rendered by Adjutant-General Newnan, the aids Majors Crawford and Pace, and the surgeons Williamson and Clopton. Major Freeman, at the head of Irwin's cavalry and part of Steele's, made bold charges upon the Indians, completely routing them. The companies led on by Captains Thomas, Adams, Barton, Myrick, Little, King, Broadnax, Cleveland, Cunningham, Lee, and Lieutenant Hendon, fought with gallantry. Brigadier-General Shackleford performed efficient services in successfully bringing the troops into action, and Adjutants Montgomery and Broadnax exhibited activity and courage. The battalion of Major Booth was properly brought into action, and that of Major Watson fought with commendable spirit. The cavalry under Irwin, Patterson and Steele, charged with success when opportunities were afforded. Great heroism was displayed by Quarter-Master Terrill, who, though badly wounded, escaped after his horse was shot under him. The horse of Lieutenant Strong was shot under him, and he made a narrow escape. In seven days the troops had marched one hundred and twenty miles, and fought this battle. Being now sixty miles from the depot of provisions, and the rations of the troops being nearly exhausted, Floyd, after the dead had been interred and the wounded properly attended, began the retrograde march to

1813 November 29 Fort Mitchell, upon the Chattahoochie. On ascending Heydon's Hill, a mile east of the battle-ground, many of the

Creeks rallied and fiercely attacked his rear; but after a few rounds they were dispersed.* CHAPTER XXXV.

* Upon the campaigns of the Tennesseans under Jackson and Cocke, and the Georgians under Floyd, I have consulted the various works and public documents upon the late war, such as the lives of Jackson by Kendall, Cobbett, Eaton and Waldo, Russell's "History of the War," Brackenridge's History of the Late War, and the various American State Papers.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

REMARKABLE CANOE FIGHT—BATTLE OF HOLY GROUND—MARCH TO CAHAWBA OLD TOWNS.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1813 October 4

RETURNING again to the seat of war, in the fork of the Tombigby and Alabama, it will be seen that Colonel William McGrew advanced in pursuit of a party of the enemy, with twenty-five mounted militia. Coming upon them at Tallahatta, or Barshi Creek, a spirited action ensued. Colonel McGrew was killed, together with three of his company—the two Griffins and Edmund Miles—which put the remainder of the Americans to flight.

October 12

General Flournoy, who had restricted the operations of Claiborne to those of a defensive character, now ordered the latter to advance with his army, for the purpose of defending the citizens, while employed in gathering their crops; to drive the enemy from the frontiers, to follow them up to their contiguous towns, and to "kill, burn and destroy all their negroes, horses, cattle, and other property, that cannot conveniently be brought to the depots." General Flournoy admitted, in the same order, that such usage was contrary to that of civilized nations, but stated that the conduct of Great Britain and the acts of her Indian allies fully justified it. On the

same day that these instructions were received, Claiborne, at the head of Major Hind's Mississippi dragoons, a part of the twelve months volunteers, and some companies of militia, marched from St. Stephens, crossed the Tombigby, and proceeded, by an indirect route, to the northern boundary, where Colonel McGrew had fallen. He found the body of that officer, and those of the privates, and interred them with military honors. On the march, small bodies of the enemy hovered around, but could not be brought into action. A picket of infantry was attacked, from an ambuscade, and three of them wounded; but before Major Hinds, who was a little in the rear, could come up, the assailants leaped down a precipice, and escaped the pursuit of Captain Foster's detachment. Remaining two days at Fort Easley, upon Baker's Bluff, Claiborne scoured the whole country with detachments. In these expeditions he had five of his men severely wounded, among whom was Capt. William Bradberry, who had acted so bravely at Burnt Corn. He was carried back to St. Stephens, and there died in great agony. Failing to bring the Indians to action, being convinced that they were in very inconsiderable force, and becoming destitute of subsistence, Claiborne marched to "Pine Levels," in the neighborhood of some good farms, a mile east of the Tombigby. From this point he sent spies to the Alabama. He also sent a despatch to Flournoy, requesting him to suffer all the disposable force to march immediately to the Creek country.*

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1813 October 16

October 20

* Claiborne's MS. papers.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Indians were everywhere committing depredations, in small parties, and occasionally some of the settlers were killed. Tandy Walker, Benjamin Foster, and Evans, a colored man, had been despatched, by the citizens of Fort Madison, across the Alabama, in an eastern direction, as spies. Approaching the late battle-ground, at Burnt Corn, they came upon a small camp of the enemy, upon whom they fired from a concealed position. The Indians fled with great precipitancy, while the spies seized some horses, plundered the camp, and retreated to Sisemore's Ferry. Here, late at night,

1813 November 5 while reposing in the cane, guns were fired upon them, and Evans was instantly killed. Walker escaped, with a wound in the side and a broken arm, but, the next day, crossed the Alabama upon a cane raft, and reached Fort Madison, where Foster, having already arrived, had reported his death.*

Captain Samuel Dale, having now sufficiently recovered from his wounds, obtained the consent of Colonel Carson, who had returned to Fort Madison, to drive these small parties of the enemy from the frontiers. Dale was joined by a detachment of thirty of Captain Jones's Mississippi volunteers, under Lieutenant Montgomery and forty Clarke county militia. Gerard W. Creagh—the same who was attached to his company at Burnt Corn—was his lieutenant upon this occasion. This expedition marched in a northern direction, visiting the abandoned plantations, and frequently discovering old traces of

November 11 Indians. Dale returned to the fort, and, the next day, march-

* Conversations with old settlers.

ed south-eastwardly, towards Brazier's Landing, now French's, where an Indian negro, named Cæsar, who was in company, had two canoes concealed in the cane. In these they crossed the Alabama, at the close of the day, and bivouaced on the eastern bank. They were thinly clad, and the frost was severe. When the sun first made its appearance over the tall canes, Captain Dale put his command in motion, and marched up the eastern bank, after having placed the canoes in charge of Jeremiah Austill, with six men, with orders to keep the boats parallel with those who marched on foot. Arriving opposite the farm of the late Dixon Bailey, who had heroically fallen at Fort Mims, as we have seen, Dale entered the boats, went over to the place, and discovered fresh signs of the mysterious foe, with whose habits he was so well acquainted. No sooner had he returned to his command, on the eastern side, than Austill discovered a canoe, occupied by Indians, descending the river, whom he immediately approached. They tacked about, paddled up the river, and disappeared in the thick cane, near the mouth of Randon's Creek. A few minutes only elapsed before a heavy firing ensued, up the creek, where the expedition had encountered some savages on horseback—Captain Dale's rifle, which unhorsed one of these Indians, having given the alarm. The yell was raised, and they made an attempt to charge; but the hot fire of the Americans compelled them to make a precipitate retreat, with one of their number killed and several severely wounded.

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1813 November 12

In the meantime, Austill had reached Randon's plantation, with the canoes, a quarter of an hour in advance of the main

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party.* When they came up, Dale ordered them to cross to the western side, as it was found impracticable to continue the route on the eastern, on account of the cane and thick vines. While the company of Captain Jones or Lieutenant Montgomery was being ferried over, Captain Dale, Jere. Austill, Lieutenant Creagh, James Smith, John Elliott, a half-breed, Brady, and six others, occupied a position in a small field, between a sand bluff and the river, where, kindling a fire, they began to boil some beef and roast a few potatoes, for their morning repast. When all the command had passed the river except these men, and immediately after the negro, Cæsar, had returned, with the smaller canoe, the men from the western side gave the alarm that the Indians were rapidly descending upon those who occupied the little field. They sprang up from their hasty meal, retreated to the river-side, and were partially screened from the enemy's fire by a small bank. While in this perilous situation, hemmed in by the Indians and the river, their attention was directed to a large flat-bottomed canoe, containing eleven warriors. Naked, and painted in a variety of fantastic colors, while a panther-skin encircled the head of the Chief, and extended down his back, these Indians presented a picturesque and imposing appearance. For some reason, those in the rear now retired, leaving Dale and his little party free to attack those in the canoe.

1813 November 12 The red voyagers, apparently unapprised of their danger,

* Randon was a wealthy Indian countryman, who was massacred at Fort Mims.

glided gently down the river, sitting erect, with their guns before them. Dale and his party immediately opened a fire upon them, which they promptly returned. Several rounds were afterwards exchanged, resulting, however, in but little injury, as the Indians now lay flat in the canoe, exposing nothing but their heads. At length, two of the latter, cautiously getting into the water, swam for the shore, above the field, holding their guns dry above their heads. They swam near the land, above the mouth of a stream, over whose muddy bottom Austill and Smith crossed with difficulty, to pursue them. When near the Indians, the buckskin leggins of Austill, suspended by a band around his waist, fell about his feet, from the weight of water in them, causing him to slip, and be precipitated down the bluff. At that moment, a ball from Smith's unerring rifle perforated the head of one of the Indians, who immediately turned over upon his back, and then sunk. The other gained the bank and ascended it, keeping Smith off with his gun, which he pretended was charged. Austill, who had now gained the top of the bluff, pursued the Indian up the stream, when a gun was fired, the contents of which passed just over his head. Imagining himself among the enemy, and hesitating for a moment, the savage escaped. The fire proved to be from Lieutenant Creagh's gun, who, in the thick cane, supposed Austill to be the warrior, in whose pursuit he was likewise engaged. While these things were rapidly transpiring, Dale ordered the large canoe to be manned on the opposite shore, and to be brought over, to capture the Indians who were still in their canoe. Eight men sprang

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into it, but having approached near enough to see the number of fierce warriors still alive, and ready to defend themselves to desperation, this cautious party rapidly paddled back to the western side. The exasperated Dale now proposed that some of his men should follow him, in the small canoe, which was immediately acquiesced in. Dale leaped down the bank, into the boat, and was followed by Smith and Austill. All the others were anxious to go, but it afforded room for no more. The noble Cæsar paddled towards the Indian's canoe, and, when within twenty yards of it, the three resolute Americans rose, to give them a broadside; but only the gun of Smith fired, for the other two had, unfortunately, wet their priming. Cæsar was ordered to paddle up, and to place his boat side by side with that of the warriors. Approaching within ten feet, the Chief, recognizing Dale, exclaimed, "Now FOR IT, BIG SAM!"* At the same instant, he presented his gun at Austill's breast. That brave youth struck at him with an oar, which he dodged, and, in return, he brought down his rifle upon Austill's head, just as the canoes came together. At that moment, the powerful arms of Smith and Dale raised their long rifles, which came down, with deadly force, and felled the Chief to the bottom of the canoe—his blood and brains bespattering its sides. Such was the force of the blow inflicted by Dale, that his gun was broken near the lock.

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* Dale had long been a trader among the Indians, and, on account of his prowess and large frame, was familiarly called by them "Big Sam."

Seizing the heavy barrel, still left, he did great execution with it, to the end of the combat. Austill, in a moment, engaged with the second warrior, and then with a third, both of whom he despatched with his clubbed rifle. Smith, too, was equally active, having knocked down two Indians. Cæsar had, by this time, got the canoes close together, and held them with a mighty grasp, which enabled Dale, who was in the advance, and the others, to maintain a firm footing, by keeping their feet in both canoes. These brave men now mowed down the savages, amid the encouraging shouts of the men on both sides of the river, who had a full view of the deadly conflict. In the midst of this unparalleled strife, a lusty Indian struck Austill with a war-club, which felled him across the sides of the two boats, and, while prostrate, another had raised his club to dash out his brains, when Dale, by a timely blow, buried his heavy rifle barrel deep in the warrior's skull. In the meantime, Austill recovered his feet, and, in a desperate scuffle with another savage, knocked him into the river with the club which he had wrested from him. The only word spoken during the fight was the exclamation of the Chief, upon recognizing Dale, and the request of Cæsar, for Dale to make use of his bayonet and musket, which he handed to him. Having laid all the warriors low, these undaunted Americans began to cast them into the bright waters of the Alabama, their native stream, now to be their grave. Every time a savage was raised up from the bottom of the canoe, by the head and heels, and slung into the water, the Americans upon the banks sent up shouts, loud and long, as some slight

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revenge for the tragedy of Fort Mims. Just as the last body found its watery grave, a ball, shot by the Indians from the eastern side, struck one of the canoes, and was followed by other discharges, but without effect. After the fight had ended, eight athletic Indians were thrown out of the canoe. It will be recollected that there were eleven in the boat when first seen, and that two of them had swum ashore, and the other one Austill had knocked out before the conflict ended.

The Indian canoe presented a sight unusually revolting—several inches deep in savage blood, thickened with clods of brains and bunches of hair. In this sanguinary bark, and the one paddled by Cæsar, the nine Americans who had been left on the eastern side were now conveyed across, to the opposite bank, where the heroes received the warm congratulations of their companions, who exultingly surrounded them.

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The expedition then marched up to Curnell's Ferry, two miles distant, and, seeing no more of the enemy, and being out of provisions, returned that night to Fort Madison. It is remarkable, that no one received the least injury, except Austill, whose head and arms were severely bruised.*

A short biographical sketch of these heroes may not be

* Conversations with Colonel Gerard W. Creagh, who witnessed the canoe fight, while standing in full view, upon the eastern bank of the Alabama, and Colonel Jeremiah Austill, of Mobile, one of the heroes. Among the MS. papers of General Claiborne I also found the report of Captain R. Jones, of the first regiment of Mississippi Volunteers, respecting the "canoe fight," which fixes the date of that affair.

uninteresting, after a recital of their unsurpassed "hand-to-hand" fight, in the unsteady canoes, on the deep Alabama.

Jeremiah Austill was born near the Oconee Station, in Pendleton District, South-Carolina, on the 10th August, 1794. His father, Captain Evan Austill, has already been mentioned, as one of those who boldly remained to defend Fort Madison, after it had been evacuated by Colonel Carson. His mother was the only sister of Colonel David Files, who died in this State, in 1820. At the time of the canoe expedition, Jere. Austill was nineteen years of age, and weighed one hundred and seventy-five pounds, without any surplus flesh. He was bold, active and strong, and had been raised upon the Indian frontiers, having lived some time at the Agency, in the Cherokee nation. He is still a resident of Mobile, and is regarded as a respectable gentleman. Since the canoe fight, he has filled several important offices, and represented the people of Mobile in the legislature. His countenance is open and manly, his eyes keen and piercing, of a dark brown color, his form is erect, and his step elastic. Even now, at the age of fifty-six, Colonel Austill is capable of being a very troublesome adversary, in a desperate rencounter, although one of the most peaceable and amiable men in the country, in the ordinary pursuits of life.

James Smith was a native of Georgia, of low stature, well set, weighed one hundred and sixty-five pounds, and was twenty-five years of age at the period of the canoe fight. He was a brave, daring, frontier man, and died in East Mississippi, several years ago. He was a man of great prowess,

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and had killed several Indians in former expeditions. He was admired by every one for his courage, honesty, and willingness to defend his country, at all times and under all circumstances.

Captain Samuel Dale, of Irish extraction, was born in Rockbridge county, Virginia, in 1772. In 1775, his father moved to Glade Hollow, on the Clinch river, in the county of Washington, Virginia, and was actively engaged in the border warfare of that day. In 1784, he removed, with his family, to the vicinity of Greensborough, Georgia, where he purchased a farm, but, in a short time, was compelled to take refuge in Carmichael's Station, in consequence of the inroads of the Indians. Several desperate attempts were made to burn this fort, in one of which Captain Autcry was slain. About this time, Mr. Dale and his wife died, leaving eight children. Samuel, the subject of this memoir, who was the oldest, placed the children upon the farm, and joined a company of troopers, raised by Captain Fosh, to watch the movements of the Creeks, which was soon after mustered into the federal service, and quartered on the Oconee, at a place called Fort Mathews. Towards the close of 1794, this troop had several engagements with the savages, in which Dale displayed those traits which so distinguished his subsequent career—vigilance, perseverance, energy, and dauntless courage. At Ocfuske, on the Chattahoochie, he slew two Indians. Soon after, having been elected colonel, and stationed, at the head of a separate command, at Fort Republic, on the Apalache river, in Georgia, he rendered efficient services, until the

troops were disbanded. Then he became a trader among the Creeks and Cherokees, purchasing his goods in Savannah, and exchanging them for cattle and ponies. He also acted in the capacity of guide, to many parties emigrating to the Mississippi Territory. He finally established a trading-house, in co-partnership with a half-breed, in what is now known as Jones county, Georgia, where he remained for some time. He was at Tookabatcha when Tecumseh appeared there, and assured Colonel Hawkins that the mission of that man would result in great evil, unless his efforts were immediately counteracted; but the Agent did not concur with him in that opinion. His bravery has been seen at Burnt Corn, and in the canoe fight. At the time of the latter, Captain Dale weighed one hundred and ninety pounds, was over six feet high, possessed a large muscular frame, without any surplus flesh, and was in the prime of life. Although he will be mentioned hereafter, in connection with the Indian wars, we deem it proper, in further illustration of his character, to insert the following well-written obituary, published in the "Natchez Free Trader," from the pen of John H. F. Claiborne, formerly a member of Congress from Mississippi, and the son of the general of that name, whose military services are now under review:

1841 June 15

"I have not observed, in your paper, any notice of the death of our veteran friend, GENERAL SAMUEL DALE. He died at his residence, Daleville, Lauderdale county, on the 23d ult., with the fortitude of a soldier and the resignation of a christian. On his dying bed, he repeated, as I am

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informed, a request, which he made last summer, that I should make a memoir of his life, most of the particulars of which I wrote down from his lips. I design visiting Lauderdale, in a few weeks, to obtain all the materials that remain. Few men have run a career so full of benevolent actions and of romantic adventure, and no man was ever better adapted to the country and the period in which he lived—that *country* the frontiers of Georgia, Florida, and the (then) Mississippi Territory, embracing all the present *State* of Alabama—the *period* including nearly all that bloody interval between the close of the revolution and the termination of the last war. With the story of these times, the dreadful massacre at Fort Mims, the battle of the Holy Ground, General Jackson's Seminole campaigns, and the earlier events of the Georgia frontier, General Dale was closely connected. The most affecting of those scenes of murder and conflagration are as yet unwritten, and live only in the fading memorials of border tradition. In preparing the life of General Dale, I shall seek to put many of them on record. As a scout, a pilot to the emigrants who blazed the first path through the Creek nation, from Georgia to the Tombigby, with arms in their hands, and subsequently, as a spy among the Spaniards, at Pensacola, and as a partisan officer, during the most sanguinary epochs of the late war, present at every butchery, remarkable for "hair-breadth 'scapes," for caution and coolness in desperate emergencies, for exhibitions of gigantic personal strength and great moral courage, his story is studded over with spirit-stirring incidents, unsurpassed by any thing in

legend or history. His celebrated '*canoe fight*,' where, in the Alabama river, he, with Smith and Austill, fought nine warriors, with clubbed rifles, killed them all, and rowed to shore, would be thought fabulous, if it had not been witnessed by many soldiers, standing upon the banks, who could render them no assistance. Some years before, he was attacked by two warriors, who shouted their war-whoop, as he was kneeling down to drink, and rushed upon him with their tomahawks. He knifed them both, and, though bleeding from five wounds, he retraced their trail nine miles, crept stealthily to their camp, brained three sleeping warriors, and cut the thongs of a female prisoner, who lay by their side. While in this act, however, a fourth sprang upon him, from behind a log. Taken at such a disadvantage, and exhausted by the loss of blood, he sank under the serpent-grasp of the savage, who, with a yell of triumph, drew his knife, and, in a few moments, would have closed the contest. At that instant, however, the woman drove a tomahawk deep into the head of the Indian, and thus preserved the life of her deliverer.

"Shortly after the treaty of Dancing Rabbit, our deceased friend settled in what is now known as Lauderdale county; and it is worthy of remark, that, at the first election, (1836, I believe,) when he was chosen to the legislature, but *ten* votes were cast. *Now* the county could probably poll 750, and, in every direction, its fleecy fields, its fine flour-mills, its school-houses and churches, indicate a thriving, enlightened and moral population.

"One anecdote of the old general is so similar to an event

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in Roman history, that I cannot forbear relating it. The Consul Acquilius, returning from a campaign, was allowed a triumph, but shortly afterwards was arraigned for some misdemeanor, committed during his foreign service. He called no exculpatory evidence, nor deigned to court the favor of his judges, but when about to receive sentence, he tore open his vest, and displayed the wounds he had received in the service of his country. A sudden emotion of pity seized the court, and unfixed the resolution which, a few moments before, they had taken, to condemn the accused. Some time ago, General Dale, being in Mobile, was held to bail as *endorser* upon a note. The debt was in the hands of a *stranger*. Accompanied by an officer, he sought the creditor, and found him in the saloon of Cullum's far-famed hotel. 'Sir,' said the general, 'I have no money to pay this debt. The principal has property—make him pay it, or let me go home and work it out.' The Shylock hesitated. '*Very well*,' said the veteran, in tones that rang indignantly through the apartment, '*Very well, sir! Look at my scars! I will march to jail down* MAIN STREET, *and all Mobile shall witness the treatment of an old soldier!*' These simple words fell like electricity upon that high-toned people. In half an hour, a dozen of the brightest names of the city were on the bond, and before morning the debt was paid, and a full discharge handed to the general. I have seen the manly tears chasing down his cheek, as the aged warrior dwelt on these recollections of the generous citizens. In person, General Dale was tall, erect, raw-boned and muscular. In many respects, physical and

moral, he resembled his antagonists of the woods. He had the square forehead, the high cheek-bones, the compressed lips, and, in fact, the physiognomy of an Indian, relieved, however, by a fine, benevolent, Saxon eye. Like the red man, too, his foot fell lightly upon the ground, and turned neither to the right or left; he was habitually taciturn; his face grave; he spoke slowly, and in low tones, and seldom laughed. I observed of him, what I have often noted as peculiar to border men of high attributes: he entertained the strongest attachment for the Indians, extolled their courage, their love of country, and many of their domestic qualities, and I have often seen the wretched remnant of the Choctaws camped around his plantation and subsisting on his crops. In peace, they felt for him the strongest veneration—he had been the friend, both of Tecumseh and Weatherford—and in war, the name of '*Big Sam*' fell on the ear of the Seminole like that of Marius on the hordes of the Cimbri." CHAPTER XXXVI.

1813 November 10

Captain Dale, with a scouting party, had effectually scoured the swamps of Bassett's Creek, and Major Hinds's horse had routed a small body of the enemy, near Weatherford's Bluff, killing ten of their number, when an order from Flournoy permitted Claiborne to advance, with the Southern army, to the Alâbama. His instructions confined him still to defensive operations, requiring him to establish a depot at Weatherford's Bluff, and not to advance further into the Creek nation until he was joined by the Georgia and Tennessee troops. Claiborne accordingly broke up his camp at Pine Levels, marched across Clarke county, with three hundred volunteers,

[illegible]

[illegible] Colonel Gilbert C. [illegible]

[illegible] Fort Claiborne. [illegible]

[illegible] Fort Claiborne [illegible]

[illegible] Governor Blount, apprising him of the arrival of more English vessels in Pensacola, and added that he wished to God that he was authorized to take that step of bringing the depot of tories and instigators of disturbances on the southern frontier." He had, a few days before, despatched Major Kennedy and others to Mobile,

to learn from Colonel Bowyer the particulars of the arrival of the British at Pensacola. They reported, giving satisfactory assurances that a large quantity of Indian supplies, and many soldiers, had arrived there; and, in addition, that the Indians were committing depredations in Baldwin county, having recently burned down Kennedy's and Byrne's mills. CHAPTER XXXVI.

Lieutenant-Colonel George Henry Nixon had succeeded Russell in the command at Mount Vernon. At his request, Claiborne permitted him, also, to man Fort Pierce, in the neighborhood of the disturbances.* 1813 December 13

Claiborne, having determined to advance to the enemy's strong-hold, the line of march was taken up by an army consisting of Colonel Russell's third regiment, Major Cassels' battalion of horse, a battalion of militia, under Major Benja- December 13

* Colonel Nixon was born in Virginia, and, living some years in South-Carolina, removed from thence, in 1809, to the Mississippi Territory. He was among the first to offer his services in defence of his country. During the Creek war, Colonel Nixon, at the head of a considerable force, scoured the swamps of the Perdido and other streams, and frequently killed and captured Indians. After he had accomplished all he could, he marched to the head of the Perdido, where he divided his command, sending Major William Peacock, with the troops of the 39th, to the Boat Yard, on Lake Tensaw, while he marched the remainder of his command to Fort Claiborne. He was an excellent officer, and served in the war until its final conclusion. He was a member of the convention that formed the constitution of the State of Mississippi, and was, afterwards, frequently a State Senator. He died in Perlington, Mississippi, in 1824. He was a large and fine-looking man, with fair complexion, and was very popular.

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min Smoot—Patrick May being adjutant, Dale and Heard captains, and Gerard W. Creagh one of the lieutenants—the twelve months' Mississippi Volunteers, under Colonel Carson, and one hundred and fifty Choctaws, under Pushmataha, numbering, in the aggregate, near one thousand men. A few days before, nine captains, eight lieutenants, and five ensigns, signed a remonstrance, in respectful language, against the march to the nation, and presented it to the general. They set forth that the time of service of many would soon expire, that the weather was cold, that they were too scantily supplied with clothing and food for such a campaign, and that the route to the enemy's towns was entirely a *pathless* one; but they stated their willingness to obey, if Claiborne should resolve to proceed.

1813 December

Claiborne moved in a north-eastern direction, until he reached the high lands south of Double Swamp, at the distance of eighty miles, where he built a depot, called Fort Deposite, situated in the present county of Butler, and where he left the wagons, cannon, baggage and the sick, with one hundred men, as a guard. Thirty miles further brought him into the immediate neighborhood of the Holy Ground, which had been reached without the aid of a single path. The pork being exhausted, the troops were in a suffering condition, for they had only drawn, when leaving Fort Deposite, three days' allowance of flour. Econachaca (Holy Ground) had recently been erected by Weatherford, the prophets having assured the Indians that here no white man could approach without instant destruction. It was strongly fortified in the

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Indian manner, and had, for some months, formed a point to which those who had been routed in battle retreated, and where a great amount of plunder had been stored. It was situated upon a bluff, on the eastern side of the Alabama river, just below the present Powell's Ferry, in the county of Lowndes. Here many of the white prisoners and friendly Indians were burned to death, by order of the prophets, and, when Claiborne was almost within sight of the town, with his advancing army, Mrs. Sophia Durant, and many other friendly half-breeds, were mustered in the square, and surrounded by lightwood fires, designed to consume them.

1813 December 23

The troops advanced toward the town in three columns, the centre commanded by Colonel Russell, at the head of which was Claiborne himself, Lester's guards and Wells' dragoons acting as a corps of reserve.

At noon Carson's right column came in view of the town, and was vigorously attacked by the enemy, who had chosen their field of action. The town was nearly surrounded with swamps and deep ravines, so that the enemy, who afterwards retreated, could not be successfully pursued. Major Cassels, who had been directed to form his battalion of horse on the river bank, west of the town, failing to effect such a movement, fell back on the head of Carson's regiment, who, however, advanced, and took his position. The third regiment, coming up in gallant style, did its duty. Major Smoot assumed his position in a proper manner, and all would have been right, if Cassels' cavalry had not failed to obey orders,

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thereby permitting hundreds of the enemy to escape, along the Alabama river, by the western border of the town. The Indians, headed by Weatherford, for a short time fought with considerable fury, but afterwards fled with great rapidity. The short engagement resulted in the death of thirty Indians and negroes, whose bodies were afterwards counted upon the field. Many must have been severely wounded. Lucket, an American ensign, was killed, and twenty men were wounded.

Several hours before the battle began, the Indian women and children had been conveyed across the river, and were securely lodged in the thick forests of the region now familiarly known as the Dutch Bend of Autauga county. Here

1813 December 23

the retreating warriors, some of whom came over in boats, while others swam, joined them. Weatherford, seeing that his forces had deserted him, now pushed hard for his own safety. Coursing, with great rapidity, along the banks of the Alabama, below the town, on a grey steed, of unsurpassed strength and fleetness—which he had purchased, a short time before the commencement of hostilities, of Benjamin Baldwin, late of Macon county—came, at length, to the termination of a kind of ravine, where there was a perpendicular bluff, ten or fifteen feet above the surface of the river. Over this, with a mighty bound, the horse pitched, with the gallant Chief, and both went out of sight, beneath the waves. Presently they rose again, the rider having hold of the mane with one hand and his rifle firmly grasped in the other. Regaining

his saddle, the noble animal swam with him to the Autauga side.* CHAPTER XXXVI.

Claiborne reduced the town of the Holy Ground to ashes. He then despatched the cavalry to Ward's place, up the river, who, before reaching there, fell in with three Shawnees of distinction, retreating from the battle, whom they killed. The firing being heard at the camp, Claiborne struck his tents, and marched in that direction, during the night. Encamping at Weatherford's place, in an open field, the cold rains descended in torrents upon the troops, and Christmas morning found them engaged in parching corn for breakfast, which was the only thing left to eat. After destroying some houses and farms, the army marched back to Fort Deposite, and from thence to Fort Claiborne, where, the term of service of Carson's Mississippi volunteers and cavalry having expired, they were mustered out of service. 1813 December 24 December 26

Colonel Russell, now left in sole command of Fort Claiborne, preferred charges against Major Cassels, for disobedience of orders, at the Holy Ground, and a court of inquiry, composed of Captain Woodruff, president, Captain J. E. Denkins and Lieutenant H. Chotard, decided that Sam McNac, the guide, was chiefly to blame, for the failure of Cas- 1814 January 1

* Extravagant tales have often been told of Weatherford's leap, and a bluff, at or near the site of the Holy Ground town, which is probably eighty or a hundred feet high, is often pointed out as the one over which he charged. The account I have given is Weatherford's own statement of the affair.

CHAPTER XXXVI. 1814

sels to occupy the position which had been assigned him. Another court of inquiry, composed of Colonel Carson and

January 1 Lieutenant Wilcox, decided that the contractor of the army was solely to blame for the perishing condition of the expedition, as General Claiborne had given him ample instructions to furnish abundant supplies. The command had been entirely without meat for nine days.

January 24 General Claiborne wrote to the Secretary of War, from Mount Vernon, that he had been left with but sixty men, whose time lacked only a month of expiring; that his other volunteers, who had been disbanded, had gone home naked, and without shoes, with eight months pay due them; and that his army, being thus broken up, he intended to return home, as soon as he received permission from General Flournoy.*

Having planned an expedition against the enemy, Colonel Russell despatched Captain Denkins up the Alabama, from Fort Claiborne, in command of a barge, laden with provisions, and defended by a piece of artillery, with instructions to enter the Cahawba river, and to ascend it to the "Old Towns," where his army would shortly join him. Afterwards, march-

February 1 ing the larger portion of his regiment to the cross-roads, in Clarke county, four miles north of the present Sugsville, he was there joined by a company commanded by Captain Evan Austill and Lieutenant G. W. Creagh, and Captain

* Claiborne's MS. papers. Conversations with the late Colonel Creagh, General Patrick May, of Greene, and others.

Foster's horse company, both under the command of Major Samuel Dale. Leaving this place, with six days rations, Colonel Russell reached the Cahawba Old Towns, where he was mortified to find that Captain Denkins had not arrived—nor had he encountered, on the way, a solitary Indian. Despatching Lieutenant Wilcox in a canoe, with five men, with directions to find Denkins and hasten him on, that officer proceeded down the Cahawba, upset his boat the first night, wet his ammunition, and lost two of his guns. Recovering the canoe, however, and proceeding down the river, lying by in the cane in the day-time, he was, in the evening of the second day, fired upon by a party of Indians. The two Wilsons, who belonged to this expedition, made their escape, and reached the lower settlements many days after, in a starving condition. One of them, Matthew, was found by Hais Rodgers, on the ridge road of Clarke. Lieutenant Wilcox and the other three were made prisoners by the Indians, who proceeded with them down the Cahawba, into the Alabama. In the meantime, Denkins, unfortunately passing the mouth of the Cahawba by mistake, had ascended some distance up the Alabama, and was now returning to Fort Claiborne, knowing that the army could not wait for him, but would return to that place likewise. The Indians, going down the river also, descried the barge, and, fearing to lose their prisoners, tomahawked and scalped Wilcox and his three companions, leaving them in their canoe. When the canoe and the barge came together Wilcox was still alive, but too far gone to give any account of the particulars of his capture, or of Russell's expe-

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dition. The body of this gallant young officer, being found upon the Alabama, where it meanders through the region between Canton and Prairie Bluff, the legislature appropriately preserved his memory, by giving the county his name.

Colonel Russell remained two days at the Cahawba Old Towns, in which time one of his men was killed by some skulking savages. Despairing of the arrival of the barge, he began the return march, without any provisions; and setting the example himself, in having his best horse killed for subsistence, twelve animals of that kind were devoured by the perishing troops. At Bradford's Pond they were timely relieved by wagons, laden with abundant provisions, and, arriving again at the cross-roads, were disbanded, the regulars marching to Fort Claiborne.*

1814 February

* Conversations with Colonel Gerard W. Creagh, late of Clarke county.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

BATTLES OF EMUCKFAU, ENITACHOPCO AND CALEBEE.

SINCE the battle of Talladega, Jackson had encountered innumerable difficulties and mortifications, owing to the failure of contractors and the mutiny of his troops, who were finally reduced to one hundred men, by the expiration of their time of service. He was now compelled to employ Cherokees to garrison Fort Armstrong, upon the Coosahatchie, and protect the stores at Ross's. Almost alone, in a savage land, he yet constantly rode between Fort Strother and Ditto's Landing, to hasten supplies for the new army, which he had employed Governor Blount to raise for him. At last, two regiments, one of them commanded by Colonel Perkins, and the other by Colonel Higgins—numbering together eight hundred and fifty men, who had only enlisted for sixty days—reached Fort Strother. Well understanding the character of minute men, like these, who must be constantly employed, Jackson immediately marched them across the Coosa, to the late battle-ground of Talladega, where he was joined by two hundred Cherokees and Creeks, who evinced great alarm at the weak-

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1814 January 14

January 16

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1814 January 21

ness which the command presented. Continuing the march towards the Tallapoosa, the army encamped at Enitachopco, a Hillabee village, and, the next day, fell into many fresh-beaten trails, indicating the proximity of a large force. Here Jackson determined to halt, for the purpose of reconnoitre. Before dark, his encampment was formed, his army thrown into a hollow square, his pickets and spies sent out, his sentinels doubled, and his fires lighted, some distance outside of the lines. About ten o'clock at night, one of the pickets, firing upon three of the enemy, succeeded in killing one, and at the hour of eleven the spies reported a large encampment, three miles distant, where the savages were whooping and dancing, and, being apprised of the approach of the Americans, were sending off their women and children.

January 22

About six o'clock in the morning, the Indians suddenly fell upon Jackson's left flank, and upon the left of his rear, maintaining a vigorous attack for a half hour. General Coffee, Adjutant-General Sitler, and Inspector-General Carroll, rode rapidly to the scene of action, as soon as the firing commenced, animating the men, who firmly kept the assailants at bay. Morning shed its light upon the exciting scene, enabling Captain Terrill's infantry to reinforce the left flank, when the whole line was led to the charge by General Coffee, supported by Colonels Higgins and Carroll, and the friendly Indians, which forced

January 22

the savages to abandon the ground in a rapid manner. They were pursued, with slaughter, for two miles. Coffee, being then ordered, with four hundred men and the friendly Indians, to burn up their encampment, advanced, and, finding it strong-

ly fortified, returned for the artillery. Shortly afterwards, a body of the enemy boldly advanced, and attacked the right wing of Jackson's encampment. Coffee again charged, but, through mistake, only forty-five men followed him, composing his own company of volunteer officers; but the friendly Indians were sent by Jackson to his support. Dismounting his men, he now pursued the "Red Sticks" to the swamp of a creek.*

Jackson had ordered his left flank to remain firm, and now the Indians came rushing, with yells, against it. Repairing to that point, and ordering up Captain Terrill to his support, the whole line received the enemy with intrepidity, and, after a few fires, advanced to the charge, under the impetuous Carroll. Again the Red Sticks fled before the bayonet, the Americans pursuing some distance, and marking their trails with blood. In the meantime, Coffee kept the enemy, who had now returned upon him from the swamp, at bay, until Jackson strengthened him, with a reinforcement of a hundred friendly warriors, at the head of whom was Jim Fife. Coffee again charged, when the Red Sticks once more gave way, and the pursuit was continued for three miles, with the loss of forty-five savages.

The brave Creeks had now been repulsed in every attempt, but they exhibited a ferocity and courage which commanded the serious consideration of Jackson, whose force was weaker

* The Indian war-party were often called the "Red Sticks," because their war-clubs were invariably painted red.

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than he desired. The horses had been without cane and without corn for two days, and but few rations remained for the men. The wounded were numerous, and the enemy would, doubtless, soon be reinforced. Jackson determined to return to Fort Strother, with all possible despatch. The remainder of the day was employed in collecting and burying the dead, dressing the wounded, and fortifying the camp; but the morning dawned without another attack.*

1814 January 23

The army began the retrograde march about ten o'clock, A.M., bearing the wounded, among whom was Coffee, in litters, constructed of the hides of the slain horses. Jackson reached Enitachopco before night, without molestation, and fortified himself at a place a quarter of a mile from the creek, around which the "Red Sticks" prowled, but refrained from attack. Dreading an onset at the ford of the creek, by which his army had passed a few days before, and which afforded great facilities for Indian ambuscades, the commander despatched spies in search of a less exposed crossing-place. Six hundred yards lower down was selected, and thither he

January 24

advanced his troops in the morning. Carroll commanded the rear-guard, Colonel Perkins the right column, and Colonel Stump the left. In case of attack, Carroll was to face about, display and maintain his position, while the other two colonels were to face outward, wheel back on their pivots, and attack the Red Sticks on both flanks.

* The battle of Emuckfau was fought near a creek of that name, which runs south, into the Tallapoosa river, in Tallapoosa county, Alabama.

The wounded and the front guard had passed the creek, and, as Jackson was upon the eastern bank, superintending the crossing of the army, an alarm gun was heard, which was succeeded by a fierce attack of the savages upon the rear-guard of Captain Russell's spies. Colonel Carroll ordered the rear-guard to halt and form, when the right and left columns, seized by a sudden panic, fled, without firing a gun, drawing after them most of the centre, with their officers foremost in the flight, at the head of whom was Colonel Stump, who came plunging down the bank, near the exasperated commander-in-chief, who made an unsuccessful effort to cut him down with his sword. With only twenty-five men, under Captain Quarles, Carroll gallantly checked the advance of the Red Sticks. The artillery was under the command of Lieutenant Armstrong, in the absence of Captain Deadrick, who now ordered his company, armed with muskets, to advance to the top of the hill, while he, with Constantine Perkins, and a few others, dragged up the six-pounder from the middle of the creek. Instantly in their position, they maintained it against ten times their number, until Armstrong reached them with his piece. Discovering that, in the hurry of separating the gun from the limbers, the rammer and pricker had been left tied to the latter, with wonderful presence of mind, and while Indian bullets rattled like hail around them, Constantine Perkins and Craven Jackson, two of the gunners, supplied the deficiency. Perkins took off his bayonet, and rammed the cartridge home with his musket, and Jackson, drawing his ramrod, employed it as a pricker,

1814 January 24

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priming with a musket cartridge.* The six-pounder was thus twice charged, pouring grape among the savages, then only a few yards distant. Several comrades of these men fell around them, and, after the second fire, the little artillery company furiously charged on the assailants, who became more cautious in their approaches. Captain Gordon's spies, in front of the army when the alarm was given, made a circuit, and attacked the left flank of the Indians. At the same time, a number of the rear-guard and flankers, rallied by Jackson, re-crossed the creek, and joined in the fight. The savages, finding that the whole army was now brought against them, fled, throwing away their packs, and leaving upon the field the bodies of twenty-six warriors.

1814 January 24

One hundred and eighty-nine bodies of the enemy were counted upon the fields of Emuckfau and Enitachopco. The

* Constantine Perkins was born in Knox county, Tennessee, the 17th August, 1792. He graduated at Cumberland College, in 1813, and was with Jackson, at the battle of Talladega, in Carroll's advance guard, where he greatly distinguished himself. Refusing to abandon Jackson, in a hostile land, he remained, with the small number who adhered to him. In the two battles at Emuckfau, he fought side by side with the bravest. When the Creek war was at an end, he studied law at Nashville. He was elected solicitor of one of the Tennessee circuits, but, removing to Alabama in 1819, was elected solicitor of the third circuit, which office he held until 1826, when he was elected attorney-general. In 1834, the people of Tuscaloosa county placed him in the State Senate, of which he was a member until the 17th September, 1836, when he died.

loss of the Americans was twenty killed and seventy-five wounded, several of whom afterwards died. Major A. Donaldson was killed at Emuckfau. Captain Hamilton, Lieutenant Armstrong, Bird Evans, Hiram Bradford and Jacob McGivock were severely wounded. The first named afterwards died. Jackson, in his report, spoke in the highest terms of the bravery of these men, and also of that of Captains Sitler, Quarles, Elliott and Pipkin, and Colonel Higgins. He also mentioned the gallantry of the venerable Judge Cocke, who, at the age of sixty-five, was in the midst of these battles.

The army continued its march to Fort Strother, where Jackson ordered the sixty day volunteers to march to Huntsville, for honorable discharge, at the same time granting to Coffee and his officers the privilege of returning home, until the government again demanded their services, to all of whom he addressed a kind letter, commending their patriotism and bravery. A court martial acquitted Colonel Perkins of the charge of cowardice, at the battle of Enitachopco; but Colonel Stump was found guilty, and cashiered.*

1814 January 28

Such is the American account of these engagements. The brave natives of Alabama had no writers among them, to record their achievements. Several Chiefs and leading warriors, who were in the battles of Emuckfau and Enitachopco, have stated to us that they "whipped *Captain* Jackson, and run him to the Coosa river." The authors who have written

* Kendall's Life of Jackson, pp. 252–264. Waldo, Eaton, etc., etc.

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upon these campaigns speak of the weakness of the American force. It consisted of seven hundred and sixty-seven men, with two hundred friendly Indians. We are enabled to state, with confidence, that the force of the Red Sticks, in these battles, did not exceed five hundred warriors, for the larger body had assembled below, to attack Floyd, while others were fortifying the Horse-Shoe, and various other places.

It has been seen that the Georgia army, after the battle of Auttose, retired to the Chattahoochie. There, for more than six weeks, it had reposed, for the want of expected supplies. When General Floyd recovered from his wound, he again marched to the seat of war, with a force of twelve hundred and twenty-seven, rank and file, besides a company of cavalry and four hundred friendly Indians. His destination being the town of Tookabatcha, he established posts upon the route, for the purpose of keeping up a communication and facilitating the transportation of supplies. Marching from post to post, as they were established, he at length encamped on the Calebee Creek, upon the high lands bordering its swamp.*

1814 January 27

At twenty minutes past five o'clock in the morning, the Red Sticks, who had secreted themselves in the swamp during the latter part of the night, sprung upon the Georgians like tigers, driving in their sentinels, and taking the whole army by surprise. In twenty minutes, the action became general, and

* This creek runs in a north-western direction, through Macon county, Alabama.

the front right and left flanks of the Americans were closely pressed; but the enemy was met at every point. The front line was preserved by the steady fire of the artillery, under Captain Thomas, aided by the riflemen of Captain Adams. These troops suffered severely, for the enemy rushed within thirty yards of the cannon. Captain John Broadnax, who commanded one of the picket guards, maintained his post, until a party of Indians had cut off his retreat to the main army. In this desperate situation, his resolute band cut their way through to their friends, assisted by Timpoochy Barnard, a half-breed, at the head of some Uchees. The other friendly Indians, with a few exceptions, taking refuge within the lines, remained alarmed and inactive, while the battle lasted. When day appeared, the battalions of Majors Watson and Freeman were ordered to wheel up at right angles. Those of Majors Booth and Cleavland, who formed the right wing, received the same order, while Captain Hamilton's cavalry was instructed to form in the rear of the right wing, to act as circumstances required. A charge was now made, and the Red Sticks gave way before the bayonet. The cavalry, falling upon them, made considerable havoc, and, followed by the friendly Indians and the rifle companies of Merriweather and Ford, pursued them through Calebee swamp. From the traces of blood, and the number of head-dresses and war-clubs found in various directions, the loss of the enemy must have been considerable. In the commencement of the action, Colonel Newnan was wounded by three balls, which deprived the

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commander of the services of that gallant and useful officer. Adjutant-General Narden, whose horse was wounded under him, performed important services, while the aid-de-camp of Floyd also had his horse killed under him. His additional aids, General Lee and Major Pace, acted in a manner highly honorable to themselves and useful to the army. The loss of the Americans was seventeen killed and one hundred and thirty-two wounded, to which must be added the loss of the friendly Indians, who had five killed and fifteen wounded. The Georgians fought with great resolution; but, assailed before day, with no fortifications around them, the Indians, until the charge was made, had the advantage, and made use of it.* The large number of wounded Georgians, the proximity of the enemy, who continued to hover around them, indicating a disposition to renew the attack, were reasons deemed sufficient by Floyd for relinquishing the main object of the expedition, retracing his steps, and awaiting further reinforcements. He accordingly marched from Calebee to Fort Hull, one of his newly-erected posts, and, the next night, the Indians were in possession of the battle-field. Leaving at Fort Hull a small garrison, he returned to Fort Mitchell, upon the Chattahoochie, which he believed, from information, was soon

1814 February 2

* Zachariah McGirth, bearing a despatch from General Claiborne to Floyd, passed through the Calebee swamp late in the night, while it must have been filled with the enemy, and strangely reached the American camp in safety.

to be attacked. Although the Georgia army had gallantly maintained their ground, at the battle of Calebee, the Indians stopped their further march into the nation, and caused them, in a few days, to retreat.*

General Jackson had employed the few militia who remained with him at Fort Strother, after the battles of Emuckfau and Enitachopco, in constructing flat-boats, to descend the Coosa, with stores for the use of the new army, then being raised in Tennessee, which was to operate below. The Kialigee Chiefs, whose neutrality Jackson had viewed with suspicion, becoming alarmed, paid him a visit, and disclosed that the Ufaulas, New-Yaucas and Ocfuskes, the remnant of the Hillabees, the Fish Ponds, and many Red Sticks from other towns, were then in a bend of the Tallapoosa, and on an island near Emuckfau, where they had resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. This information determined him to march upon them.

1814 February 15

When the army arrived at Fort Strother, he embarked the stores in the flat-boats, which were to proceed down the Coosa, in charge of the thirty-ninth regiment, and, leaving a garrison of four hundred and fifty men in Fort Strother, under the command of Colonel Steele, he began the march, for the third time, towards the seat of war. Within five days, Jackson reached the mouth of Cedar Creek, having

March 15

March 16

* Russell's History of the Late War, pp. 242–243. Waldo's Life of Jackson, pp. 124–126. Kendall's Life of Jackson, p. 240.

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1814 March 22

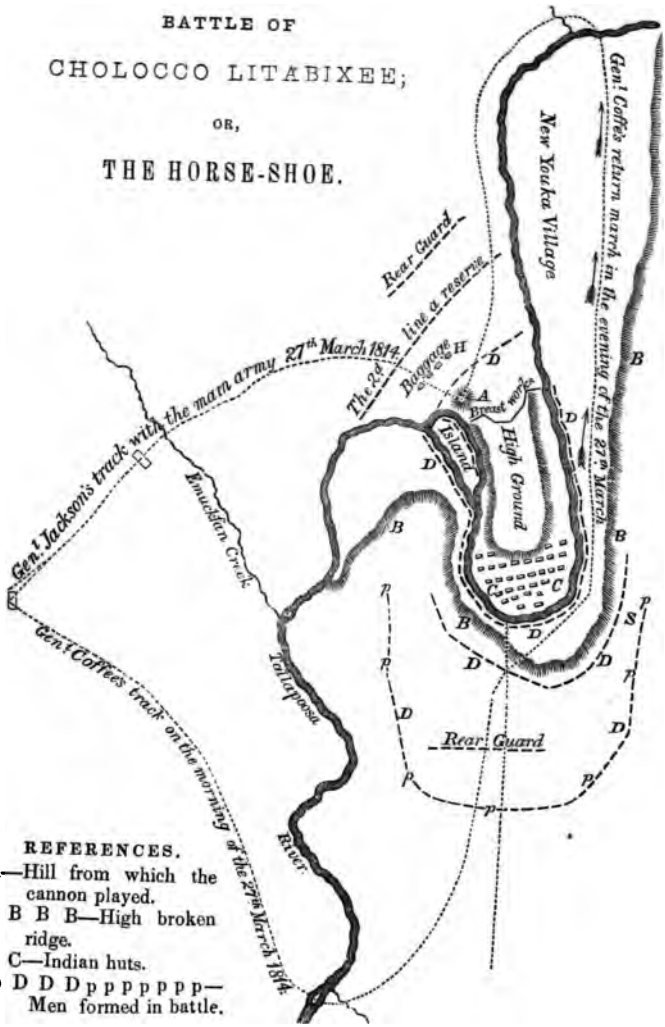
been retarded by the cutting out of thirty miles of the road. The boats, in descending the river, meeting with some obstructions, finally reached this point also, where a fort was immediately commenced, which Jackson called Fort Williams, in honor of the commander of the thirty-ninth regiment. A detachment returned to the camp, and reported that they had burned two Indian towns, lower down, but had seen no Red Sticks.

BATTLE OF

CHOLOCCO LITABIXEE;

OR,

THE HORSE-SHOE.



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BATTLE OF THE HORSE-SHOE—WEATHERFORD SURRENDERS HIMSELF AT FORT JACKSON.

CHAPTER XXXVIII. 1814 March 24 March 27

LEAVING a guard at Fort Williams, General Jackson put his army, which consisted of two thousand men, upon the march. He opened a passage across the ridge which divides the Coosa and Tallapoosa, and, in three days, advanced to the immediate neighborhood of the enemy.

Cholocco Litabixee—the *Horse-Shoe*—where the Red Sticks had assembled, to make a desperate defence, was admirably adapted by nature for security, if well guarded, but equally for destruction, if not well defended. About one hundred acres of land was bordered by the Tallapoosa river, forming a peninsula. Across the neck of the bend, the Red Sticks had a breast-work of logs, so arranged as to expose assailants to a cross fire. The houses of the village stood upon some low grounds, at the bottom of the bend, where hundreds of canoes were tied to the banks of the river. The warriors of Hillabee, Ocfuske, Oakchoie, Eufaulahatche, New-Yauca, Hickory Ground and Fish Pond towns, had concentrated upon the remarkable peninsula. General Coffee, with a large

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body of mounted men, and the friendly Indians, forded the Tallapoosa, two miles below the breast-work, and, having gained the eastern side, extended his lines for a great distance, so as to encompass the bend. As soon as Jackson saw, from signals which were made, that Coffee had taken his position, he marched the remainder of his force towards the breast-work, planted two pieces of artillery, eighty yards distant from the nearest part of the Indian defence, and, at ten o'clock in the morning, began to open them upon the enemy. These pieces, accompanied by occasional discharges from the muskets and rifles, effected but little. In the meanwhile, the Cherokees, under Coffee, swimming the river, took possession of the canoes, and, returning with them to the opposite bank, they were presently filled with friendly Indians and Americans, the latter headed by Colonel Morgan and Captain Russell. They reached the town, and wrapped it in flames. Jackson then ordered his troops to storm the breast-work, behind which all the warriors had posted themselves. A short contest was maintained at the port-holes, but presently the impetuous Americans mounted the breast-work, and, dyeing the huge logs with their blood and that of the enemy, they finally, after a most desperate struggle, became masters of the interior. The Red Sticks, now assailed in front by Jackson, who had taken possession of their breast-work, and attacked from behind by a portion of Coffee's troops, who had just completed the conflagration of their village, fought under great disadvantages. However, none of them begged for quarter, but every one sold his life at the

dearest rate. After a long fight, many of them fled and attempted to swim the river, but were killed on all sides by the unerring rifles of the Tennesseans. Others screened themselves behind tree-tops and thick piles of timber. Being desirous not to destroy this brave race, Jackson sent a messenger towards them, who assured them of the clemency of the general, provided they would surrender. They answered by discharges from their guns and shouts of defiance. The artillery was then ineffectually brought to bear upon them. The Americans then applied fire to their retreat, which soon forced them to fly, and, as they ran, they were killed by American guns. It was late in the evening before the dreadful battle ended. The Red Sticks numbered about one thousand warriors, and, out of that number, five hundred and fifty-seven were found dead on the peninsula.* As many were killed in the river, by Coffee's troops, while they were endeavoring to swim over, it may safely be stated that not more than two hundred survived. Some of them long afterwards suffered with the most grievous wounds. Manowa, one of the bravest Chiefs that ever lived, was literally shot to pieces. He fought as long as he could. He saved himself by jumping into the river, where the water was four feet deep. He held to a root, and thus kept himself beneath the waves, breathing through the long joint of a cane, one end of which he held in his mouth, and while the other end came above the surface of the

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* Kendall, Eaton, and Waldo's Lives of Jackson.

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water. When night set in, the brave Manowa* rose from his watery bed, and made his way to the forest, bleeding from many wounds. Many years after the war, we conversed with this Chief, and learned from him the particulars of his remarkable escape. His face, limbs and body, at the time we conversed with him, were marked with the scars of many horrible wounds. Another Chief was shot down, among a number of slain warriors, and, with admirable presence of mind, saved his life, by drawing over him the bodies of two of them, under which he lay, till the darkness of the night permitted him to leave the horrible place.

The loss of the Americans was thirty-two killed and ninety-nine wounded. The friendly Cherokees had eighteen killed and thirty-six wounded. The tory Creeks had five killed and eleven wounded. Among the slain were Major L. P. Montgomery and Lieutenants Moulton and Somerville, who fell in the charge upon the breast-works.

Major Lemuel Purnell Montgomery was born in Wythe county, Virginia, in 1786. He was a relation, by consanguinity, of the gallant general of that name, who fell at the storming of Quebec. His grandfather, Hugh Montgomery, of North-Carolina, a man of fortune and talents, commanded a whig company during the revolution, which he equipped and supported at his own expense. With this company he fought the British and tories with great success. He was a

* Known by the American settlers as "Old Manorway."

member of the convention which formed the constitution of the State of North-Carolina, and, not long afterwards, one of the counties of that State was named in honor of him. The father of Major Montgomery, also named Hugh, was a man of talents, and, having removed to Virginia, was a member of the Senate of that State. At Snow Hill, in Maryland, he married a lady, whose maiden name was Purnell, which was the middle name of her son, the brave major, who fell at the Horse-Shoe. The father removed from Virginia to East Tennessee, near Knoxville.

Major Montgomery completed his education at Washington College, Tennessee, studied law with Judge Trimble, of Knoxville, and established himself in that profession at Nashville, where, in four years, his attainments, eloquence, zeal, fearless independence and popular bearing, rendered him a formidable rival of the able Felix Grundy. During this period, he was frequently placed at the head of parties of armed horsemen; and with them he scoured the dark gorges of the Cumberland mountains, in pursuit of desperate banditti, who had long pillaged the people in the vallies. At length he was appointed by Madison first major of the thirty-ninth regiment; which he gallantly led to the breast-works of the Indians at the Horse-Shoe. He was the first man that mounted the breast-work, and, while waving his sword and animating his men, a large ball, shot from the rifle of a Red Stick, entered his head, and instantly killed him. When the battle was ended, Jackson stood over his body, and wept. He exclaimed, "I have lost the flower of my army!"

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At the time of his death, Major Montgomery was only twenty-eight years of age. His eyes were keen and black; his hair was of a dark auburn color; his weight was one hundred and seventy-five pounds; his height was six feet and two inches; his form was admirably proportioned, and he was, altogether, the finest looking man in the army.

A diversity of opinion prevails among the soldiers of this campaign, as to the disposition of the body of Major Montgomery. Some contend that Jackson caused it to be sunk in the Tallapoosa river, to protect it from Indian brutalities. We have in our possession the affidavit of two soldiers, now living in Tennessee—John Lovelady and Samuel Gearing—which states that they assisted to bury the body of Montgomery, and bore off the surplus dirt which remained about the grave, upon the skin of a beeve, and threw it into the river. They then burnt brush over the grave, to conceal it from the keen eyes of the savages. Since then, and only a few years ago, the people of Tallapoosa county took up these remains, conveyed them to their court-house, and deposited them in the ground, with military honors. The county of Montgomery, Alabama, was named in honor of Major Montgomery, while the memory of his relation, who fell at Quebec, is preserved in the name of the city.

The day after the terrible battle of the Horse-Shoe, General Jackson assumed the line of march, and reached Fort Williams on the second of April.

1814

Upon an examination of the Coosa river, it was found impracticable to transport the stores from Fort Williams to

the termination of the falls, by water, and the reduced condition of the horses and the roughness of the country rendered it impossible to transport them by land, in any quantity. However, with such provisions as the men could carry upon their backs, Jackson marched towards the Hickory Ground, relying upon the eastern army, whose advance-guard was then under Milton, for supplies. Heavy rains retarded his march; but he reached Fooshatchie, where he captured a few prisoners. The Red Sticks fled from Hoithlewaule and other towns, across the Tallapoosa.

1814 April 4

Colonel Milton, with troops from the two Carolinas, had been a month at Fort Decatur, situated upon a commanding bluff, on the eastern side of the Tallapoosa, but took no step to co-operate with Jackson in preventing the escape of the Indians.

Prevented from pursuing the enemy, by a flood in the river and the scarcity of provisions, Jackson marched to the head of the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, and planted his colors upon the spot where Governor Bienville, one hundred years before, had erected Fort Toulouse, so long garrisoned by French troops. Here the rivers approach within six hundred yards of each other, and diverging, unite four miles below.

April 17

The battle of the Horse-Shoe had nearly put an end to the war, and the dispirited Red Sticks made but few efforts to rally. Many came in and surrendered, while the larger portion escaped towards Florida. The old French trenches were cleaned out, and an American stockade with block-houses was erected upon the site, which received the name of Fort Jackson.



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Deputations of Chiefs continually arrived, and submitted, in behalf of themselves and their people, to such terms as General Jackson thought proper to impose. Among the most conspicuous of these was William Weatherford, who led the Indians at Fort Mims, and at the battles of Calebee and Holy Ground. Jackson had directed that he should be captured, if possible, and brought to him, confined, to receive such punishment as his crimes merited. Weatherford, a man without fear, boldly resolved to appear at the American camp, voluntarily. Mounting the same splendid gray steed which had borne him over the bluff at the Holy Ground,* he rode within a few miles of Fort Jackson, when a fine deer crossed his path and stopped within shooting distance, which he fired at and killed. Re-loading his rifle, with two balls, for the purpose of shooting the Big Warrior, should he give him any cause, at the fort, he placed the deer behind his saddle, and advanced to the American outposts. Some soldiers, of whom he politely inquired for Jackson's whereabouts, gave him some unsatisfactory and rude replies, when a gray-headed man, a few steps beyond, pointed him to the marquee. Weatherford rode up to it, and checked his horse immediately at the entrance, where sat the Big Warrior, who exultingly exclaimed,

1814 April

"Ah! Bill Weatherford, have we got you at last!"

The fearless Chieftain cast his keen eyes at the Big Warrior, and said, in a determined tone,

* The Weatherfords always had fine horses, and old Charles, the father, was a celebrated patron of the Alabama turf.

"You d—d traitor, if you give me any insolence, I will blow a ball through your cowardly heart." CHAPTER XXXVIII.

General Jackson now came running out of the marquee, with Colonel Hawkins, and, in a furious manner, exclaimed,

"How dare you, sir, to ride up to my tent, after having murdered the women and children at Fort Mims!"

Weatherford said:

"General Jackson, I am not afraid of you. I fear no man, for I am a Creek warrior. I have nothing to request in behalf of myself; you can kill me, if you desire. But I come to beg you to send for the women and children of the war party, who are now starving in the woods. Their fields and cribs have been destroyed by your people, who have driven them to the woods, without an ear of corn. I hope that you will send out parties, who will safely conduct them here, in order that they may be fed. I exerted myself in vain to prevent the massacre of the women and children at Fort Mims. I am now done fighting. The Red Sticks are nearly all killed. If I could fight you any longer, I would most heartily do so. Send for the women and children. They never did you any harm. But kill me, if the white people want it done."

At the conclusion of these words, many persons, who had surrounded the marquee, exclaimed, "KILL HIM! KILL HIM! KILL HIM!" General Jackson commanded silence, and, in an emphatic manner, said, 1814 April

"ANY MAN WHO WOULD KILL AS BRAVE A MAN AS THIS WOULD ROB THE DEAD!"

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He then invited Weatherford to alight, drank a glass of brandy with him, and entered into a cheerful conversation, under his hospitable marquee. Weatherford gave him the deer, and they were then good friends. He took no further part in the war, except to influence his warriors to surrender.* He went to the place of his former residence, upon Little river, but soon had to leave it, as his life was in constant danger.

1814 April

He then went to Fort Claiborne, and the commanding officer of that post saved him from being killed, by placing him in a tent by himself, which was pitched very near the marquee, and which was constantly guarded by a file of soldiers. After he had been kept there ten or fifteen days, the commanding officer became still more uneasy, for fear he would be killed by persons who had lost relations at Fort Mims, and who were bent on his destruction. He now resolved to send him beyond the lines, during a dark night. About midnight, he sent his aid, followed by Weatherford, to the station of Major Laval, who was then a captain, and the officer on guard. He said, "Captain Laval, the commanding officer says you must take Weatherford to yonder tree, under which you will find a horse tied, and that he must mount the

* Such is the account of Weatherford's interview with Jackson, as related by the Chieftain himself, to Colonel Robert James, of Clarke, William Sisemore, of Little river, and many other persons. The *incorrect* statements of Eaton, in his Life of Jackson, are doubtless based entirely upon camp gossip.

horse and make his escape." Captain Laval instantly told Weatherford to follow him. He passed by the guard, giving the countersign, and reached the tree. Weatherford eagerly seized the limb to which the horse was tied, threw the reins over the animal's head, shook Laval by the hand, and said, in earnest and grateful tones, "GOOD BYE! GOD BLESS YOU!" He then vaulted into the saddle, and rode off rapidly. That was the last time he ever saw Weatherford. For the distance of one mile, at least, Laval heard the clattering of the horse's feet.* CHAPTER XXXVIII.

After the war was over, Weatherford became a permanent citizen of the lower part of the county of Monroe, where, upon a good farm, well supplied with negroes, he lived, maintained an excellent character, and was much respected by the American citizens for his bravery, honor and strong native sense. In 1826, he died, from the effects of fatigue, produced by a desperate bear hunt.

Many persons yet living bear testimony to the bravery and honor of William Weatherford, in private life, an instance of which we here take occasion to mention:

In 1820, many people assembled at the sale of the effects of the deceased Duncan Henderson, in the lower part of Monroe county, Alabama. An old man, named Bradberry—the father of the gallant lieutenant, who fought at Burnt Corn, and who was afterwards killed in another action—was cruelly murdered upon this occasion, by one C——r, who 1820

* Conversations with Major Laval, a resident of Charleston, S. C.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

plunged a long knife into the back of his neck. The murderer had an accomplice, one F——r, who was in pursuit of Bradberry at the same time, and who had, a few moments before, broken a pitcher over his head. These men were so desperate, and flourished their knives with such defiance, that Justice Henderson in vain called upon the bystanders to seize them, while the poor, unoffending old Bradberry, lay weltering in his blood.

Shocked at the cowardly and brutal act, and provoked at the timidity of the bystanders, William Weatherford, who
1820 lived in that neighborhood, now advanced towards Henderson, and said, in a loud voice, "These, I suppose, are white men's laws. You stand aside, and see a man, an OLD man, killed, and not one of you will avenge his blood. If he had one drop of Indian blood mixed with that which runs upon the ground there, I would instantly kill his murderers, at the risk of my life." Justice Henderson implored him to take them, and, being assured that the white man's law would not hurt him, but that he would be commended for the act, Weatherford now drew forth his long, silver-handled butcher-knife, and advanced towards the murderers, who stood forty paces off, threatening to kill the first man who should attempt to arrest them. He first advanced to C——r, who, trembling at his approach, let his knife drop by his side, and instantly surrendered. Seizing him by the throat, he said to the bystanders, "Here, tie the d—d rascal." Then, going up to F——r, upon whom he flashed his tiger eyes, he also arrested

him, without the least opposition—F——r exclaiming, "I will not resist *you*, Billy Weatherford."

April 20 General Pinckney arriving at Fort Jackson, and being the senior officer of the Southern army, assumed the command, and approved of all the acts of Jackson. Learning that the Indians were generally submitting, he ordered the West Tennessee troops to march home. Two hours after the order was issued, they were in motion. Arriving at Camp Blount, near Fayetteville, Jackson discharged them, after gratifying them with a feeling address. He then repaired to the Hermitage, from which he had been absent eighteen months, in a hostile land, and, a portion of the time, almost alone.

April 21

Pinckney remained at Fort Jackson, with the troops from the two Carolinas and those from East Tennessee. Four hundred of General Dougherty's brigade of East Tennesseans were stationed at Fort Williams. General Johnson, at the head of five hundred men, had been despatched to the Cahawba river, who proceeded to its source, and joined Jackson before he reached the Tennessee river. Several detachments were sent forth from Fort Jackson, who scoured the country in all directions, for the fugitive Red Sticks. Colonel Hawkins performed several trips to the Chattahoochie, and exerted himself to induce the wretched Creeks to surrender, and terminate a war which had proved so disastrous to them. But the British, at Pensacola, were endeavoring to rally them. Two vessels had anchored at the mouth of the Apalachicola, and had landed five thousand stand of arms and abundant ammunition, and three hundred British troops had commenced

July 1



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a fortification, under the command of a colonel. Runners were sent to all parts of the nation, inviting the Indians to rush to that point for provisions and military supplies, and thither many of the Red Sticks repaired. The condition of the friendly Indians, too, was, at this time, most wretched. and upwards of five thousand of them were fed at the different American posts.*

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 857–860.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

TREATY OF FORT JACKSON—ATTACK UPON MOBILE POINT—MARCH UPON PENSACOLA.

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On the resignations of Generals Hamilton and Harrison, Jackson had been promoted to the rank of major-general. Leaving the Hermitage once more, he proceeded, with a small escort, to Fort Jackson, where he safely arrived, and assumed the command of the Southern army. He had been empowered by the Federal Government to conclude a treaty of peace with the Creek nation. After much opposition from the Big Warrior, and other Chiefs, to the surrender of the territory which was demanded, a treaty was signed. It was stipulated that a line should commence upon the Coosa, at the southern boundary of the Cherokee nation, and continue down that river to Wetumpka, and thence eastwardly to Georgia. East and north of that line, containing upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand square miles, remained to the Indians. West and south of it, was secured to the United States. This territory was obtained as an indemnification for the expenses incurred by the government in prosecuting the war. Before the treaty was signed, the Big Warrior

1814 July 10

August 9

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addressed Jackson and Hawkins, in a long speech, and tendered them, in the name of the friendly Chiefs, a reservation of three miles square of land, each, "to be chosen where you like, from that we are going to give, as near as you can to us, for we want you to live by us, and give us your advice." To George Mayfield and Alexander Curnells, their interpreters, they also gave one mile square, each. Jackson accepted of this national mark of regard for him, if approved by the President, who, he said, "would, doubtless, appropriate its value in aid of your naked women and children." Colonel Hawkins said :

"I have been long among you—I have grown grey in your service—I shall not much longer be your agent. You all know that when applied to by red, black or white, I looked not to color, but to the justice of the claim. I shall continue to be friendly and useful to you, while I live, and my children, born among you, will be so brought up as to do the same. I accept your present, and esteem it the more highly by the manner of bestowing it, as it resulted from the impulse of your own minds, and not from any intimation from the general or me."*

Among other gallant officers present upon this occasion, was Colonel Arthur P. Hayne, who, after the peace, resided in Autauga county, Alabama, and was there much esteemed and respected. He was born in Charleston, South-Carolina, on the 12th March, 1790, and descended from a family distin-

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1.

guished in the Revolution. Although not of age when the attack was made by the British upon the Chesapeake, he entered Colonel Wade Hampton's regiment of light dragoons, as a first lieutenant. In 1809, he was stationed upon the Mississippi with Scott and Gaines, who then held the same rank with himself. When war was declared against England, Hayne was ordered to the North, and he presently participated in the battle of Sackett's Harbor, in which he displayed so much gallantry and judgment, that he was immediately promoted to the command of a squadron of cavalry, with the rank of major. He was with Wilkinson in 1813, on the St. Lawrence. General Hampton, who wanted Hayne to join *his* wing of the army, in one of his letters to the Secretary of War, employed this complimentary language:—"Send me Hayne; I want his constitutional ardor—it will add much to the strength of my army." After Major Hayne had been in several severe engagements, at the North, he received the important appointment of inspector-general; and being ordered to join Jackson, in the Creek nation, we find him at the marquee of that officer when the treaty was made. Colonel Hayne, during the battle of New-Orleans, was constantly in his saddle, executing the many hazardous trusts confided to him by Jackson, with promptness, bravery and ability. In later years, the duties of important offices abroad, emanating from the Federal Government, have been confided to him. He is now a resident of Charleston.

In the meantime, General Jackson had been vigilant as to the movements of the British and their Indian allies upon the

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coast of the Floridas. He constantly despatched spies to Pensacola and other points, who returned and confirmed the previous reports which had reached him. Provoked at the treachery of the Spaniards, he addressed a letter to Manriquez, Governor of Pensacola, remonstrating against the attitude of the Spanish authorities towards the United States, a power with which Spain professed to be at peace. Manriquez, in his reply, denied that the fugitive Red Sticks were then with him, and that if they were, he could not surrender them, upon the ground of hospitality, nor refuse them assistance at a moment when their distresses were so great; and, in admitting that the English had and still used the posts of Florida, he justified it on account of a treaty which existed between Great Britain and the Indians, previous to the conquest of the Floridas by Spain. Jackson replied in strong terms to this letter, despatching Captain Gordon with the document, who was instructed to gain additional information of the designs of the enemy.

1814 August 11

Having arranged all things at the fort which bore his name, Jackson, in company with Colonel Hayne, departed down the Alabama, in boats, with a portion of his troops, and arriving at Mobile, made that place his head-quarters. He had been admonished that it was the design of the English soon to attack the city. He addressed a letter to Colonel Butler, which reached that officer at Nashville, on the 9th of September, urging him to hasten the advance of the volunteers to protect that point and New-Orleans. Soon, Gen. Coffee was on the march from Tennessee, at the head of two thou-

sand men, while Colonel Butler hastened to press forward the militia, under Colonel Lowery, which had been, heretofore, required for garrisoning posts in the Indian country. Captains Baker and Butler also commenced the march from Nashville to Mobile, with the regular forces lately enlisted.

Colonel Nichol, an Irishman by birth, and now a British officer, arrived at Pensacola with a small squadron of his majesty's ships, immediately manned the Forts Barancas and St. Michael, and hoisted the British flag upon their ramparts. Making the house of Governor Manriquez his head-quarters, Nichol sought to draw around his standard the malcontents and traitors of the country, by issuing a proclamation, stating that he had come with a force sufficient to relieve them from the chains which the Federal Government was endeavoring to rivet upon them. This presumptuous appeal was even extended to the patriotic people of Kentucky and Louisiana. At the same time, in conjunction with Captain Woodbine, he employed himself in collecting and clothing, in British uniform, the Red Sticks and Seminoles, whom he publicly drilled in the streets of Pensacola. To these, and *all* the Red Sticks, he promised a bounty of ten dollars for every scalp, whether of men, women or children.

1814 August 29

Fort Bowyer, at Mobile Point, had been dismantled by the orders of General Flournoy, who deemed it incapable of defence. Jackson, soon after arriving at Mobile, sailed to the Point, and after an inspection of this defence, resolved to garrison it. Sending from Mobile the artillery which was taken from it, and one hundred and thirty men, including officers, Major

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Lawrence, the commander, immediately prepared to resist the attacks of the enemy, should he make his appearance.

1814 September 12 At length a sentinel, stationed towards Lake Borgne, discovered six hundred Indians and one hundred and thirty British marines. In the evening, two English sloops of war, with two brigs, came to anchor on the coast, within six miles east from the fort. The next day, at twelve o'clock, the land force

September 13 approaching within seven hundred yards, threw three shells and one cannon ball. The shells exploded in the air, but the ball carried away a timber of the rampart. The Americans, returning a few shots, forced the assailants to retire behind the sand hills, a mile and a half distant, where they began to raise intrenchments, but a few more discharges from the fort dispersed them. Some small boats were sent out from the ships to sound the channel, but the discharge from the bat-

September 15 tery drove them off. The ships now stood out to sea, but about two o'clock they bore down upon the fort in order of battle, the Hermes, on board of which was Commodore Percy, being in the advance. The Americans opened a fire upon her at four o'clock, but she came to anchor within musket shot—the other three taking their position behind her. The engagement became general, the ships discharging whole broadsides, while the American circular battery was destructive in its operations. Captain Woodbine opened a battery with a land force, from behind a sand bluff on the south-eastern shore, seven hundred yards distant, but the south battery of the Americans soon dispersed them. A furious cannonade of an hour filled the air with so much smoke, that Major Lawrence

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ceased for a moment to ascertain the intentions of the English, seeing that the halyard of the commodore's flag had been carried away. The commodore raised a new flag, and, at that moment, all the guns of the American battery were discharged, sensibly shaking the earth around. After a short silence, the English renewed the action. The cable of the Hermes was cut, and she was carried away by the current, keeping her head to the fort, which enabled Lawrence, for twenty minutes, to rake her, fore and aft.

In the hottest of the engagement, Lawrence seized a sponge staff, and hoisted upon the edge of the parapet another flag, to supply the place of the one which had been carried away. The land force, under Woodbine, seeing the fall of the flag, rushed in triumph towards the fort; but some discharges of grape again dispersed them. The Hermes drifted a half mile, ran aground and was set on fire. The brig was so disabled that she could scarce retire, to join the other two vessels, which now all put to sea. At eleven o'clock at night, the explosion of the magazine blew up the Hermes.*

1814 September 15

The attack upon Mobile Point was a confirmation of the previous conjecture of General Jackson, and he determined to throw a force into Pensacola sufficient to expel the enemy, who had sailed to that place after their defeat at Fort Bowyer. He despatched Colonel Hayne to Fort Montgomery,

* British loss—162 killed, 70 wounded; American loss—4 killed, 4 wounded. Latour's War in West Florida and Louisiana, pp. 32–42. Russell's History of the War, p. 279. Williams' Florida, p. 200. Eaton's Life of Jackson, pp. 236–237.

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which was then in command of Colonel Thomas H. Benton, under whose superintendence it was erected, for the purpose of organizing the troops in that quarter. Colonel Hayne discharged this duty with his usual promptness and decision. About this time, General Coffee had encamped on the western side of the Tombigby, opposite the Cut-Off, with two thous-

1814
October 26 and eight hundred men. Jackson reached his camp, and strained every nerve to afford supplies for the army, effecting loans upon his own credit and responsibility. The army crossed the Tombigby, and proceeded across Nannahubba Island, to Mims's Ferry. One thousand volunteers, hitherto mounted, left their horses in the care of keepers, to feed on the cane, and now cheerfully marched on foot. Reaching Fort Montgomery, the army reposed a short time, and again

November 4 took up the line of march for Pensacola. It consisted of the third, thirty-ninth and forty-fourth regiments of infantry, the militia of Tennessee, a battalion of volunteer dragoons of the

November 6 Mississippi Territory, and some friendly Indians. Encamping within one mile and a half of Pensacola, Jackson sent a detachment of cavalry, under Lieutenant Murray, of the Mississippi dragoons, to reconnoitre. They captured a Spanish picket-guard, but could perceive nothing. Lieutenant Murray was, unfortunately, killed by an Indian, while in a path, somewhat separated from his command.

Major Pierre was despatched from head-quarters to the governor, with a summons, preparatory to an attack upon the town, but was fired upon when he had arrived within three hundred yards of Fort St. Michael, although he held a white

flag in his hand. Impelled by a feeling of humanity towards the oppressed Spaniards, whose fortifications were held by the English, Jackson sent a letter, by a prisoner, to the governor, demanding an explanation for the insult offered to his flag. Through an officer, his excellency disclaimed any participation in the transaction, and gave a pledge that American officers should, in future, be treated with respect. Major Pierre being again sent, at midnight, was unsuccessful in his negotiation with the governor to allow Jackson to occupy Forts Barancas and St. Michael, until Spanish troops should arrive in sufficient numbers to protect the Floridas from British outrages upon the neutrality of the nation. Major Pierre then left the governor, with the assurance that recourse would be had to arms.

1814 November 6

Zachariah McGirth, who has been mentioned in reference to Fort Mims and the battle of Calebee, was sent by Jackson into Pensacola, to ascertain the number and position of the enemy. About midnight he returned, and reported that a body of Indians, British and Spaniards, whom he estimated at over five thousand, occupied the heart of the town, and that some distance in advance of them, in the direction of the American camp, another party had erected a battery, across a street. Knowing that this battery commanded the only avenue by which he could reach the enemy, without passing under the guns of Fort St. Michael, Jackson determined to remove it. He sent for Captain Laval, of the third regiment, and informed him that he had selected him as the man to "lead the forlorn hope." He ordered him to pick one hun-

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dred and twenty men, for the purpose of storming the battery. Laval commanded a company composing that number, and, although he had the option of selecting men from other companies, he first appealed to his own men, and stated to them the dangerous duty which had been assigned to him. They all responded, by saying, "Wherever you go, Captain Laval, we follow." About eight o'clock in the morning Laval began his march. Captain Denkins, who was ordered to support him with two pieces of artillery, if it should become necessary, marched some distance in his rear. Colonel Hayne, so anxious for the success of Laval, who was his warm friend, rode in the rear of the company. When Laval came near the battery, Denkins and his artillery were far behind, in consequence of the rapid march of the former, and the heavy sand, which retarded the pieces of the latter. The enemy opened their cannon upon the "forlorn hope," while numerous assailants annoyed them, by cross fires, from the houses and gardens. The brave Laval, at the head of his company, however, marched steadily on. Colonel Hayne now dismounted, and rushed upon the enemy on foot. Finally, Laval reached the battery, and, at that moment, a large grape shot tore his leg to pieces, and he instantly fell to the ground. The troops rushed over the battery, and secured the pieces of the enemy, all of whom presently fled, except the commanding officer, who bravely maintained his position, and was taken a prisoner.

1814 November 7

Captain William Laval, now Major Laval, was born on the 27th May, 1788, in Charleston, South-Carolina. His father

who had been an officer in France, came to America with the French army, in the legion of the Duke of Lauzun, to assist us in the struggle for our liberties. He was a cavalry officer, and participated in several of the American battles in Virginia, Delaware and New-Jersey, and, after peace was declared, was, for many years, a Sheriff of the Charleston district. The son entered the American army in October, 1808, as an ensign. He was stationed at Forts Moultrie and Johnson, and at a recruiting encampment upon the Catawba. In 1812, he was appointed a first lieutenant. In January, 1813, he advanced, with his company, commanded by Captain Moore, from Fort Hawkins, across the Creek nation, to Mobile, and fro·· thence to New-Orleans. Very soon after, when the Creek war broke out, he was promoted to the post of captain, and marched with the third regiment, to which his company belonged, to Fort Claiborne, and from thence to the Holy Ground, in the battle of which he participated. From the wound which he received upon the occasion of the siege of Pensacola, he was a severe sufferer for two years; but, although it has rendered him a cripple for life, he is now in fine health, and moves upon his crutches with ease and animation. Since the war, he has held various respectable offices, conferred by a people grateful for his military services. He has been a Secretary of State of South-Carolina, its Comptroller-General, a Sheriff of Charleston, an officer in the custom-house, Assistant Treasurer of the United States under Mr. Polk, and is now the Treasurer of the State of South-Carolina. Major Laval is near six feet

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high, very erect in person, and presents a very striking and military appearance.

1814 November 7

In the capture of the Spanish battery, seven Americans were killed and eleven wounded, among whom, besides Laval, was Lieutenant Flournoy. Four Spaniards were killed, six wounded, and several captured.

After the storming of this battery, three thousand Americans, in three columns, advanced, and proceeded along the beach, eastward of the town, to avoid the fire from St. Michael. A flag of truce from Governor Manriquez produced a cessation of hostilities. The former terms of Jackson were now agreed to; but the commandant of St. Michael refused to obey the governor. Jackson now, leaving Major Pierre, with eight hundred men, with orders to possess the fort before night, retired to his camp with the remainder of his troops, the British attempting to intercept his march by the fire of long guns, from the shipping.

It was important that the Americans should possess the fort before morning, for the British vessels, provided with spring cables, were, at any moment, ready to fire the town, or effect a landing. Indeed, by the aid of their boats, they had continued to fire upon our troops, as they passed along the principal streets; but Lieutenant Call, with a single piece of artillery, suddenly appeared upon the beach, and dispersed them. Five hundred men were now placed upon the beach, to oppose the landing of the British, while Captain Denkins, with two companies and three pieces of cannon, occupied

Mount St. Bernard, which commanded Fort St. Michael. At six o'clock, P.M., Colonel Sotto, after having sent a verbal message that he would surrender, refused to receive Captain Denkins and his command, which had been ordered to possess the fort, upon the pretence that they could not evacuate before morning. When Denkins was about to commence an attack, Sotto, aware of the consequences, surrendered, and, at eleven o'clock at night, the Americans took possession. On the same afternoon, the battery of St. Rose, opposite Fort Barancas, was blown up by the Spaniards. CHAPTER XXXIX. 1814 November 7

The next morning, the governor refused to give an order for the surrender of Fort Barancas, and Jackson resolved to take it; but, while preparations were making to march down against it, it was blown up, by order of the commandant. The British shipping, by this act, were enabled to pass by the ruins of Fort Barancas, and put to sea. Had Jackson possessed it in time, they would have been cut off from retreat. November 8

Having effected the expulsion of the British from Pensacola, captured one of the forts, while the others were destroyed by the enemy themselves, and forced the Red Sticks to retreat to the forests, in a perishing condition, and, being aware that his army could only be supported by tedious land transportation, that winter was setting in, and that the defence of New-Orleans demanded his services, General Jackson took up the line of march for Fort Montgomery, where he arrived without accident. November 9

Placing a considerable portion of his army under Major

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Uriah Blue, of the thirty-ninth regiment, the commander-in-chief visited Mobile, and then departed for New-Orleans.

Major Blue, at a period between the attack upon Pensacola and the battle of New-Orleans, scoured the swamps of the Escambia and all the bays in West Florida, with a large force of mounted men, consisting of Americans, Choctaws, Chickasaws and friendly Creeks. He killed many of the refugee Creeks, who fought him in their dense retreats, and captured a large number, besides women and children, whom he constantly sent to Fort Montgomery, guarded by strong detachments. We regret exceedingly that want of space forces us to omit a detailed account of this fatiguing and perilous expedition, taken from the lips of an intelligent surgeon. In some other work, we hope to be able to record the brilliant achievements and valuable services performed, on this occasion, by Major Blue. We would remark, however, that he was the officer who brought the Creek war of 1813 and 1814 to a final termination. No official account of this march has fallen into our hands, and we believe none exists.

In drawing our account of the Creek war to a close, we cannot refrain from indulging in some reflections upon the bravery, endurance, self-sacrifice and patriotism of the Red Sticks. Let us, for a moment, recapitulate their achievements, never yet rivalled in savage life. They defeated the Americans at Burnt Corn, and compelled them to make a precipitate retreat. They reduced Fort Mims, after a fight of five hours, and exterminated its numerous inmates. They encountered the large force under Coffee, at Tallasehatche, and

fought till not one warrior was left, disdaining to beg for quarter. They opposed Jackson at Talladega, and, although surrounded by his army, poured out their fire, and fled not until the ground was almost covered with their dead. They met Floyd at Auttose, and fought him obstinately, and then again rallied and attacked him, a few hours after the battle, when he was leading his army over Heydon's Hill. Against the well-trained army of Claiborne they fought at the Holy Ground, with the fury of tigers, and then made good their retreat across the Alabama. At Emuckfau, three times did they charge upon Jackson, and when he retreated towards the Coosa, they sprang upon him, while crossing the creek at Enitachopco, with the courage and impetuosity of lions. Two days afterwards, a party under Weatherford rushed upon the unsuspecting Georgians, at Calebee, threw the army into dismay and confusion, and stood their ground, in a severe struggle, until the superior force of Floyd forced them to fly, at daylight. Sixty days after this, Jackson surrounded them at the Horse-Shoe, and, after a sanguinary contest of three hours, nearly exterminated them, while not one of them begged for quarter. At length, wounded, starved and beaten, hundreds fled to the swamps of Florida; others went to Pensacola, and, rallying under Colonel Nichol, attacked Fort Bowyer. Fierce scouting parties, during the whole war, had operated against them, from point to point, and they were not finally overcome until Major Blue made the expedition just related.

Thus were the brave Creeks opposed by the combined

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armies of Georgia, Tennessee and the Mississippi Territory, together with the federal forces from other States, besides numerous bands of bloody Choctaws and Chickasaws. Fresh volunteers and militia, from month to month, were brought against them, while no one came to *their* assistance, save a few English officers, who led them to undertake enterprises beyond their ability to accomplish. And how long did they contend against the powerful forces allied against them? From the 27th of July, 1813, to the last of December, 1814. In every engagement with the Americans, the force of the Creeks was greatly inferior in number, except at Burnt Corn and Fort Mims.

Brave natives of Alabama! to defend that soil where the Great Spirit gave you birth, you sacrificed your peaceful savage pursuits! You fought the invaders until more than half your warriors were slain! The remnant of your warlike race yet live in the distant Arkansas. You have been forced to quit one of the finest regions upon earth, which is now occupied by Americans. Will THEY, in some dark hour, when Alabama is invaded, defend this soil as bravely and as enduringly as you have done? Posterity may be able to reply.

CHAPTER XL.

THE BRITISH TAKE MOBILE POINT—PEACE DECLARED—THE ALABAMA TERRITORY.

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THE victory of the Americans, at New-Orleans, forced the British to abandon the banks of the Mississippi, and hover about Mobile Point. Twenty-five of their vessels anchored in a semi-circular position, five miles from Fort Bowyer. Thirteen ships of the line anchored two miles in rear of it. Five thousand men landed and encamped. After several days of the most active preparations, for the reduction of this little American defence, still under the command of the brave Major Lawrence, the latter assembled a council of his officers, who decided that it was impossible to contend with a powerful force, both by sea and land. The next day, according to previous negotiations, three hundred and sixty Americans, including officers, marched out of Fort Bowyer, with colors flying and drums beating, and took up quarters on board of three British ships of the line, as prisoners of war.*

1815 January 8

February 12

The treaty of peace between England and the United

1814 December 24

* Latour's Late War in West Florida and Louisiana, pp. 207–216.

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States, concluded at Ghent, did not reach General Jackson, at New-Orleans, until the 13th March. A few days after this, the latter informed Admiral Cochrane, of the British navy, of the joyous intelligence. But the latter, whose fleet still lay about Mobile Point, did not leave our shores immediately, in consequence of the exchange of prisoners constantly going on. Besides this, the great mortality from the wounds and disease which prevailed throughout his shipping, still further retarded his departure. Hundreds of British soldiers were entombed in the white sands of Mobile Point and Dauphin Island. At length, the 1st of April witnessed the departure of our enemies, and the happiness of our people, now once more left to repose.

At this period, a large tract of country was still in possession of the Chickasaws, south and west of Madison county; but the American population began to form settlements upon it. Hundreds went lower down, upon the Tombigby, and others upon its head waters. Governor Holmes extended, by proclamation, the jurisdiction of the Mississippi Territory over the country of the Black Warrior and Tombigby, now acquired from the Chickasaws by treaty, and gave the whole the name of Monroe county.

1815 June 9

Madison, north of the Tennessee, at this time less than thirteen miles square, had, within six years, obtained a population of more than ten thousand souls, many of whom were wealthy and intelligent planters from the Southern Atlantic States. Gabriel Moore, Hugh McVay and William Winston, were elected to the Territorial Legislature, from this county, in

June. Fifteen hundred and seventy votes were cast in Madison, at the election for a delegate to Congress, while the aggregate vote of the counties of Jefferson, Claiborne and Adams, was only fourteen hundred and twenty. The Washington district, upon the Tombigby, sent only two members to the Territorial Legislature.

The lands acquired by the treaty of Fort Jackson began to be only partially settled, as much of them was still in the occupancy of the Creeks, who had not removed, and, owing to the intrigues of British emissaries, still in Florida, the boundary lines had not been established. Indeed, even before the 16th October, the Creeks had again commenced hostilities upon the frontiers of Georgia, and had broken up the military cantonments on the line from Fort Jackson to Fort Mitchell. Again, settlements were still further retarded by the proclamation of the President, forbidding the settlement of this territory until it was surveyed. December 12

To facilitate the advance of population north and west of the Creek nation, and to prevent encroachments upon the Choctaws, Chickasaws and Cherokees, commissioners of the United States obtained, by treaties, in the autumn of 1816, all the territory from the head waters of the Coosa, westward, to Cotton Gin Port, and to a line running from thence to the mouth of Caney Creek, on the Tennessee. After this, the Americans pressed forward, and, before the close of 1816, the population of the Mississippi Territory was more than seventy-five thousand, including slaves. Forty-six thousand of this population was distributed in the counties west of Pearl river, the

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remainder in the Tennessee valley, and upon the Tombigby and the Mobile.

1817

On the 1st March, Congress declared that the Mississippi Territory should be divided, by a line commencing at the mouth of Bear Creek, on the Tennessee, thence to the north-west corner of Washington county, and thence south, with the western limit of that county, to the sea. A Convention, also upon the authority of Congress, composed of forty-four delegates, assembled at the town of Washington, near Nat-

August 15

chez, and adopted the constitution of the State of Mississippi. None of the counties now lying in Alabama were represented in this convention. On the 10th December, the acts of the convention were ratified by Congress, and Mississippi became a member of the Federal Union.

The territory east of the new State of Mississippi, Congress erected into a territorial government, giving it the name of Alabama, from the great river which drained its centre. Upon the first organization of this new government, seven counties only—Mobile, Baldwin, Washington, Clarke, Madison, Limestone and Lauderdale—were formed within our limits, and they enjoyed the legislative and judicial powers which they possessed before the division, and the officers retained their places. The seat of government was temporarily fixed at St. Stephens.

William Wyatt Bibb was appointed Governor of the Alabama Territory. He was born in Amelia county, Virginia, October 2d, 1781. His father, William Bibb, had held the commission of captain, in the revolutionary war, and was

afterwards a respectable member of the legislature of Virginia. His mother, whose maiden name was Wyatt, a native of New Kent county, of the same State, was a lady of superior intellect, and was favorably known to the early settlers of Alabama. The family removed to Georgia at an early period, and settled in Elbert county, upon the Savannah. Captain Bibb died in 1796, leaving to his wife the care and responsibility of eight children, all of whom she lived to see in affluent and respectable positions in life. William, the subject of this notice, graduated at the College of William and Mary, returned to Georgia and established himself as a physician, in the town of Petersburg. Shortly afterwards, he was elected to the legislature, where, for several sessions, he evinced considerable talents and usefulness. When scarcely twenty-five years of age, he took a seat in Congress, at the commencement of the session of 1806, where he was an active and efficient member. From the Senate of the United States, to which he afterwards succeeded, he was transferred by President Monroe to the government of Alabama.

The first Territorial Legislature convened at St. Stephens, the 19th January, 1818. James Titus was the only member of the Executive Council or Senate. He sat alone, and decided upon the acts of the lower house, and adjourned, and met again, with a show of formality quite ludicrous. Gabriel Moore, of Madison county, was the speaker of the house, which was composed of about thirteen members. Governor Bibb, on the 20th, presented his message, in which he recommended the advancement of education, the establishment of

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roads, bridges and ferries, the alteration in the boundaries of counties, and the formation of new ones, and many other things, calculated to promote the welfare of the Territory. He brought to the serious attention of the assembly the petition from the Mississippi convention, recently addressed to Congress, praying that body to enlarge the limits of Mississippi, by restricting those of the Alabama Territory to the Tombigby river. He opposed the project, and contended that the present line of partition had been deliberately fixed by the competent authorities, and voluntarily accepted by the people of that State.

1818 January

Thomas Easton was elected Territorial printer. George Philips, Joseph Howard, Mathew Wilson, Joseph P. Kennedy, John Gayle and Reuben Saffold, were selected as nominees, from whose number the President of the United States should select three members for the next legislative council.

The counties of Cotaco, Lawrence, Franklin, Limestone, Lauderdale, Blount, Tuscaloosa, Marengo, Shelby, Cahawba, Dallas, Marion and Conecuh, were established. In each, the superior courts of law and equity, and two county courts, and one intermediate court, were to be holden annually. They were allowed one representative, each, in the legislature.

The boundaries of Washington, Baldwin, Mobile and Marengo, were altered and extended. Madison, the shape of which was formerly that of a triangle, was now made to assume its present form. The St. Stephens Academy was incorporated, and its trustees authorized to raise four thousand dollars by a lottery. "The St. Stephens Steamboat Company" was also

incorporated. Hudson Powell, Robert Gaston, Joseph H. Howard, Howell Rose and George Dabney, were appointed commissioners, to select a temporary place at which to hold the courts of Montgomery county, then of vast extent.

The legislature repealed the laws upon usury, and allowed any interest agreed upon between the parties, and expressed in writing, to be legal. The compensation of the members was fixed by themselves, upon a more liberal scale than at present. The speaker and president were allowed seven, and the members, five dollars per diem, besides mileage.

1818 February

Clement C. Clay, Samuel Taylor, Samuel Dale, James Titus and William L. Adams, were elected commissioners, to report to the next session the most central and eligible site for the Territorial legislature.

Madison, Limestone, Lauderdale, Franklin, Lawrence and Catoco counties, were erected into the "northern judicial district." Governor Bibb, on the 14th February, appointed Henry Minor attorney-general of this district.

Clarke, Washington, Monroe, Conecuh, Baldwin and Mobile counties, composed the "southern judicial district," and Mathew D. Wilson was appointed the attorney-general thereof.

Marion, Blount, Shelby, Montgomery, Cahawba, Marengo, Dallas and Tuscaloosa counties, composed the "middle judicial district," and Joseph Noble was appointed its attorney-general.

Before the division of the Mississippi Territory, and while the legislature sat at Washington, in Adams county, a stock bank had been established at Huntsville. A resolution,

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adopted at the session of St. Stephens, changed its name to that of "Planters and Merchants Bank of Huntsville." The Tombigby stock bank was also now established, with a capital of five hundred thousand dollars. Such were the only important acts of the first session of the legislature of the Alabama Territory.*

But Indian disturbances, as we have said, had commenced. Although the British army had sailed for Europe, yet there were still subjects of that nation in the Floridas, who originated the "Seminole war;" among the most active of whom were Captain Woodbine, Colonel Nichol, Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert C. Ambrister. They had adopted the opinion of Lord Castlereagh, that the 9th article of the treaty of Ghent entitled the Creeks to a restoration of the lands which they had been compelled to relinquish, at Fort Jackson. Woodbine, entering upon the task of enforcing this ill-founded claim, had conducted to Florida a colony of negro slaves, which had been stolen by the British, during the war, from the Southern planters. He had ascended the Apalachicola, and had erected a strong fort, which was well supplied with artillery and stores. From this point, he had presumptuously addressed Hawkins a letter, demanding the restoration of the ceded lands, and represented himself as commanding his majesty's forces in Florida. Hostilities had already commenced upon the frontiers, and even the Big Warrior had declared that he had been deceived as to the extent of the

1815 April 28

* State Archives.

lands which had been forced from him. Colonel Clinch, of Georgia, with detachments under Major Muhlenburg and Captain Zachary Taylor, had invested and completely destroyed Woodbine's negro fort, killing many of the inmates, and burning a vast amount of military property. Notwithstanding these difficulties, emigrants continued boldly to push through the Creek nation, and to occupy portions of the Alabama Territory. A small colony had established themselves in the present Butler county. Among them was Captain William Butler, a native of Virginia, who had been a member of the Georgia legislature, and the commander of a company of volunteers at the battle of Calebee; Captain James Saffold, a lawyer, who had commanded a company of artillery, under Major McIntosh, while stationed at Fort Decatur, besides William P. Gardner, Daniel Shaw, James D. K. Garrett, Britain M. Pearman, and others, all of whom came recently from Georgia. Most of these worthy settlers pitched their camps upon the ridge near the residence of the late Chancellor Crenshaw. Two years previous to this, however, a few emigrants had settled on the Federal Road, near where Fort Dale was afterwards erected, in the present county of Butler, among whom were William Ogle, his wife, and five children, with J. Dickerson. Another settlement had been formed in the "Flat," on the western border of that county.

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1816 August 26

1818 March

Sam McNac, who still lived near the Pinchoma, on the Federal Road, informed these emigrants that hostile Indians were prowling in that region, who meditated mischief. A temporary block-house was immediately erected, at ——

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Gary's, and those in the Flat began the construction of a fort, afterwards called Fort Bibb, enclosing the house of Captain Saffold, who had removed from the ridge to that place. On the 6th March, William Ogle drove his ox-cart in the direction of Fort Claiborne, for provisions, and he had not proceeded far before a Chief, named Uchee Tom, and seventeen warriors, seized the rope with which he was driving, and gave other evidences of violence, but finally suffered him to proceed. Feeling much solicitude on account of his family, and purchasing corn at Sepulga Creek, he returned home, where the Indians had been, in the meantime, and had manifested a turbulent disposition. On the 13th of March, Ogle attended a company muster, and from thence there went home with him, in the evening, an old acquaintance, named Eli Stroud, with his wife and child. Meeting in a savage land, under sad apprehensions, these friends, having put their children to sleep, sat by the fireside of the cabin, and continued to converse, in under tones, ever and anon casting their eyes through the cracks, to discover if Indians were approaching. Presently, by the dim light of the moon, Ogle saw a band of Red Sticks, who stealthily but rapidly approached the house. Springing from his seat, he seized his gun, ran to the door, and set on his fierce dogs; but was soon shot dead, falling upon the threshold which he was attempting to defend. Stroud and his wife sprang over his body into the yard, leaving their infant sleeping upon the hearth, and ran off, pursued by a part of the savages. Paralyzed with fear, Mrs. Ogle at first stood in the floor, but, recovering herself,

1818 March

ran around the corner of the house, and, protected by a large dog, escaped to a reed brake hard by, where she concealed herself. Here she heard the screams of Mrs. Stroud, who appeared to be running towards her, but who was soon overtaken and tomahawked. The savages entered the house, dashed out the brains of the infant, which was sleeping upon the hearth, and butchered the other children, whose shrieks and dying groans the unhappy mother heard, from the place of her concealment. After robbing the house, the wretches decamped, being unable to find Stroud, who lay not far off, in the high grass. The next morning, some of the emigrants assembled, to survey the horrid scene. During the night, Mrs. Stroud had scuffled to the cabin, and was found in the chimney corner, sitting beside the body of her child, bereft of her senses. Ogle and four children lay in the sleep of death. His two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary Ann, were still alive, and were taken, with Mrs. Stroud, to the houses of the kind settlers, and, in a short time, were sent to Fort Claiborne, with an escort furnished by Colonel Dale. On the way, Mrs. Stroud died, and, not long after reaching Claiborne, Mary Ann also expired. Elizabeth, through the kind attentions of Dr. John Watkins, survived her wounds, and is yet a resident of Butler county.

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One week after this massacre, Captains William Butler and James Saffold, in company with William P. Gardner, Daniel Shaw and young Hinson, set out from the fort, to meet Dale, who was then marching to that point with a party of volunteers, a portion of whom they desired to induce him to send

1813 March 20

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to the Flat, to protect the citizens, while cultivating their fields. Advancing about two miles, Savannah Jack and his warriors—the same who had murdered the Ogles—fired upon them from a ravine. Gardner and Shaw, riddled with rifle balls, fell dead from their horses. Butler and Hinson, both being wounded, were thrown to the ground. The latter, regaining his seat in his saddle, fled back to the fort. Unable to reach his horse, Butler attempted, by running across the ravine, to gain the road in advance of the Indians; but he was pursued and shot at, from tree to tree, until he fell dead, but not before he had killed one of his pursuers. Captain Saffold escaped to the fort, receiving no injury, except the perforation of his clothes by rifle balls. A detachment, sent by Dale the next day, buried the dead, whose heads were beaten to pieces, and their bodies horribly mutilated.*

1818 March 21

Not long after this affair, an emigrant, named Stokes, with his wife and children, was killed, fifteen miles below Claiborne. Great alarm pervaded the whole country, and the people moved upon the hills, and began the construction of defences.

In the meantime, Governor Bibb, who had made several trips from Coosawda to St. Stephens, and who was well ap-

* In relation to the murders in Butler county, I must return my thanks to John K. Henry, Esq., of Greenville, who took the pains to procure correct statements of them from J. Dickerson and James D. K. Garrett. The late Reuben Hill, of Wetumpka, also furnished notes upon this subject.

prised of these depredations, resorted to prompt measures to afford protection to the settlers. By his directions, Colonel Dale had marched to the scene of the late murders. Bibb sent a despatch to the Big Warrior, demanding the withdrawal of all the Indians from the lands ceded at Fort Jackson, acquainting him with the murders committed upon unoffending white people, and requesting that the authors be pursued and punished, by such warriors as he might think proper to send out. CHAPTER XL.

Dale advanced to Poplar Spring, erected a fort, which assumed his name, and assisted the people to finish Fort Bibb. Both of these forts were now garrisoned. Major Youngs, of the 8th infantry, stationed at Fort Crawford, despatched a detachment of whites and Choctaws, with orders to scour the Conecuh, and afterwards to join Dale. The latter also scoured the surrounding country, but overtook none of the Indians. Governor Bibb successfully co-operated with the United States officers stationed at Montgomery Hill and Fort Crawford, for the protection of the citizens, and he visited, in person, all the newly erected stockades. On the 25th May he returned to Coosawda, and, the next day, rode up to Tookabatcha, and had a friendly interview with the Big Warrior. Leaving the Secretary of State, Henry Hitchcock, a young New-Englander, of great ability, in charge of the government, his excellency returned to Georgia, upon urgent business. 1818 May

The Red Sticks, in the meanwhile, had collected in a considerable band, and the country over which Dale had the

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command becoming too hot to hold them, they crossed the Alabama, and marched through Marengo and Greene. In McGowan's settlement, three children, named Hall, and a negro woman, were murdered, on the 14th September. Suspicion falling upon Savannah Jack and his party, they were pursued, and trailed to Gun Island, or Gun Shute, on the Warrior, by Colonel Thomas Hunter, at the head of some

1818 September 15

settlers. Night coming on, the pursuit ceased. The next day, a party under Major Taylor, and another under Captain Bacon, crossed the Warrior, to the western side, and, in a dense swamp, came upon the savages. An action of an hour ensued. The officers, acting with bravery and prudence, were sustained by only a few of their men. A retreat was at length made, with the loss of two men killed, and one severely wounded. The next day, Colonel Hunter, with fifty men, followed upon the trail of the enemy, and came upon a small party, one of whom was killed. The next morning he continued the pursuit, for twenty miles, to the Sipsey Swamp, where, from the impracticability of entering it, the enemy was left to repose.*

This expedition was followed up by several others, upon the Warrior; but the Creeks had, at length, determined to

October

leave the Americans in quiet possession of the lands, which were surrendered with such reluctance at the treaty of

* Report of Colonel Hunter to Governor Bibb, to be found among the State Archives.

Fort Jackson. The flood-gates of Virginia, the two Carolinas, Tennessee, Kentucky and Georgia, were now hoisted, and mighty streams of emigration poured through them, spreading over the whole territory of Alabama. The axe resounded from side to side, and from corner to corner. The stately and magnificent forests fell. Log cabins sprang, as if by magic, into sight. Never, before or since, has a country been so rapidly peopled.

CHAPTER XLI.

MODERN FRENCH COLONY IN ALABAMA, OR THE VINE AND OLIVE COMPANY.

CHAPTER XLI.

A COLONY of French sought Alabama as an asylum from Bourbon persecution. The winter of 1816 and 1817, found many of these distinguished refugees in Philadelphia. An ordinance of Louis XVIII. had forced them from France, on account of their attachment to Napoleon, who was then an exile upon St. Helena.

The refugees despatched Nicholas S. Parmentier to the Federal city, to obtain from Congress a tract of land in the wild domain of the West, upon which they had resolved to establish a colony. On the 4th March, 1817, Congress authorized the sale of four townships to them, at two dollars per acre, on a credit of fourteen years, upon condition that they cultivated the vine and olive. In the meantime, the refugees had entered into a correspondence with intelligent persons of the West, in regard to the soil and climate of different regions. Dr. Brown, of Kentucky, who had travelled in France, and had become much interested in these unhappy people, advised them to settle near the confluence of the

Warrior and Tombigby, which they determined to do. Organizing in Philadelphia, the company was found to consist of three hundred and forty allottees, and the land was divided among them; some acquiring a full share of four hundred and eighty acres, and others half and quarter shares, and some not more than eighty acres. To each man was also assigned a lot in the town which they were to establish, and also one in the suburbs. Associated with them, as assistants, were Prosper Baltard, A. Mocquart, and J. le Francois. George N. Stewart, then a youth of eighteen, and now a distinguished lawyer of Mobile, was their secretary. CHAPTER XLI.

The schooner McDonough was chartered, and the commissioners, with many French emigrants, set sail from Philadelphia. Late one evening, in the month of May, this vessel, bearing these romantic voyagers, was seen approaching Mobile Point, in the midst of a heavy gale. Governed by an obsolete chart, the captain was fast guiding her into danger. Lieutenant Beal, commanding at Fort Bowyer, perceiving her perilous situation, fired an alarm gun. Night coming on, and overshadowing both sea and land with darkness, he caused lights to be raised along the shore as guides to the distressed vessel. The wind continuing to increase, she was thrown among the breakers, and immediately struck. Signals of distress being made, the noble lieutenant threw himself into a boat, with five resolute men, and with Captain Bourke, formerly an officer. Mounting wave after wave, they reached the wreck about one o'clock in the morning. The wind had somewhat abated, and Beal crowded the women 1818 April

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and children into his boat, and conducted them safely to shore. The larger number of the colonists remained on board the schooner, which was ultimately saved, by being washed into deeper water. Bestowing upon the refugees every attention while they remained at the Point, Beal accompanied them to Mobile, and partook of a public dinner, which they gave him, in token of their gratitude.

The commissioners remained a few days at Mobile, which was then a small place, with but one wharf, and proceeded up the river in a large barge, furnished by Addin Lewis, the collector of the port. Stopping at Fort Stoddart, they were received with hospitality by Judge Toulmin, to whom they bore letters. They next visited General Gaines, then in command of a large force at Fort Montgomery, and the barge then cut across to the Tombigby, and landed at St. Stephens—a place of some size, with refined and lively inhabi-

1818 June

tants. Discharging the government boat, and procuring another barge, the refugees once more began their voyage up the winding and rapid current. Camping upon the banks occasionally, and exploring the country around, they at

July

length established themselves, temporarily, at the White Bluff. A portion of them proceeded to old Fort "Tombecbe," and near there, visited Mr. George S. Gaines, who was still United States Choctaw factor, whose table fed the hungry, and whose roof sheltered the distressed. He advised them to make their location in the neighborhood of the White Bluff. John A. Peniers and Basil Meslier, whom the association had despatched to explore the Red river country, now arrived.

Receiving favorable reports of the country in the Alabama Territory, the association at Philadelphia took measures to colonize it. The west side of the Tombigby belonged to the Choctaws, and the east had recently been in possession of the Creeks. The region where the French emigrants had resolved to establish themselves, was an immense forest of trees and cane, interspersed with prairie; and near the present town of Greensboro', was Russell's settlement of Tennesseans, and some distance below the White Bluff, were a few inhabitants. However, the French continued to arrive in boats, by way of Mobile, and cabins were erected about the White Bluff, in a rude and scattering manner. Having been accustomed to Parisian life, these people were very indifferent pioneers. Unprovided with wagons and teams, and unacquainted with the shifts to which pioneer people are often compelled to resort, they made but slow progress in subduing the wilds. Provisions of all kinds were remarkably high. They, however, slowly struggled against these difficulties, and endeavored to raise provisions upon small patches, without knowing upon what tract, in the grant, they were to live in future.

The meridian line was established, and the grant divided into townships and sections. A town was formed at the White Bluff, which, according to the request of Count Real, of Philadelphia, was called Demopolis—*the city of the people.**

* Afterwards, it proved that Demopolis was not embraced in the townships of the French grant. An American company purchased it of the United States, at fifty-two dollars per acre.

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To secure the river front, two fractional townships were chosen by the commissioners, instead of two entire townships. Emigrants continuing to arrive, great confusion and controversy arose in the selection of lots and tracts of land, while the association at Philadelphia, unacquainted with the localities, were unwisely and arbitrarily planning their own forms of location. By a new contract, made between Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, and Charles Villar, agent of the association, the lands were sold, and the tracts of each person designated. The allotments made at Philadelphia, and ratified by Mr. Crawford, being different from those already made by the settlers, forced the latter to abandon many of their hard-earned improvements, and to retire further into the forest. This wretched state of things caused General Lefebvre Desnoettes, who had opened a farm on his Tombigby allotment, to proceed to Philadelphia to adjust these conflicting interests. He succeeded only in securing his own improvements, while the claims of the others were disregarded, and the contract made at Washington was ordered to be enforced. The settlers were then forced to retire upon the lands assigned them in township Eighteen, range three east, and township Eighteen, Nineteen and Twenty, in range four east.

1819 December

Among the French emigrants were many distinguished characters. Count Lefebvre Desnoettes had been a cavalry officer, under Bonaparte, with the rank of lieutenant-general. Accompanying Napoleon, in his march to Russia, he rode with him in his carriage in his disastrous retreat over the snows of that country. He had served in Spain in many

bloody engagements, and was an active participator in the dreadful battle of Saragossa. Vivacious and active, handsome in person and graceful in carriage, he was the most splendid rider of the age in which he lived. His imperial master was so much attached to him, that when forced to abdicate the throne, and about to depart for Elba, and while addressing his weeping and sorrowing officers at Fontainbleau, said, "I cannot take leave of you all, but will embrace General Desnoettes in behalf of you all." He then pressed him to his bosom in the most affectionate manner. Napoleon frequently made him valuable presents, and influenced his cousin, the sister of the celebrated banker, La Fitte, to espouse him. While he was at Demopolis, that lady made an attempt to join him in exile, but being shipwrecked on the coast of England, was forced to return to France. At length, she negotiated with the French government for his return, and, through the influence of her family, succeeded in obtaining permission for him to reside in Belgium. This induced Count Desnoettes, in 1823, to leave Alabama in the ship Albion, which was wrecked upon the coast of Ireland, at Old Kinsale, in view of an immense number of people, who were standing on the cliffs. The distinguished refugee was washed overboard, and the ocean became his grave. While in Marengo county, he often received large sums of money from France, and was the wealthiest of the emigrants. Near his main dwelling he had a log cabin, which he called his sanctuary, in the centre of which stood a bronze statue of Napoleon. Around its feet were swords and pistols, which Desnoettes had taken in

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battle, together with beautiful flags, tastefully hung around the walls.

M. Peniers, another distinguished emigrant, was a republican member of the National Assembly, and voted for the death of the amiable Louis XVI. He remained about Demopolis, engaged in agriculture, but procuring an appointment of Sub-Agent for the Seminoles, died in Florida, in 1823. Distinguished in France, and honored with many civil appointments, he was at last expatriated for his adherence to the fortunes of Napoleon.

Colonel Nicholas Rooul, a remarkable personage, had been a colonel under Bonaparte, and had accompanied him in his banishment to Elba. When his imperial master left that island, Rooul commanded his advanced guard of two hundred grenadiers upon the march from Caenes to Paris. When this small band was preparing to fire upon the king's troops, under Marshal Ney, who had come to capture the emperor, Bonaparte advanced to the front of the lines, and gave the command to "order arms." Bearing his breast to Ney's division, he exclaimed, "if I have ever injured a French soldier, fire upon me." The troops of Ney shouted "vive la Empereur!" and Bonaparte marched at their head, through the gates of Paris. Colonel Rooul lived several years upon his grant, and, becoming much reduced in his circumstances, was forced to keep a ferry at French Creek, three miles from Demopolis—being accustomed to ferry over passengers himself. Often would the American traveller gaze upon his foreign countenance, martial air and splendid form, and wonder what

order of man it was who conducted him over the swollen stream. At this time, Rooul being in the prime of life, was a large, fine looking man. He was firm and irascible in his disposition, and was a dangerous competitor in any controversy in which he might engage. His wife was a handsome woman, of the Italian style of beauty. She was a native of Naples, and had been Marchioness of Sinabaldi, and maid of honor to Queen Caroline, when Murat was king of that country. She brought with her to Alabama two children by a former husband. In 1824, she left her lonely cabin upon French Creek, and followed Colonel Rooul to Mexico, where he engaged in the revolution, and fought with his accustomed fierceness and impetuosity. At length, once more reaching his beloved France, he there for a long time held an honorable commission in the French army.

J. J. Cluis, one of the refugees, cultivated a farm near Greensboro'. He had been an aid to Marshal Lefebvre, the Duke of Rivigo, who was afterwards at the head of the police department of Paris. Colonel Cluis was then his secretary. At another time, Cluis had the custody of Ferdinand VII., King of Spain, while he was imprisoned by Napoleon near the Spanish frontiers. Like all the other refugees, he found planting the vine and olive a poor business in Alabama, and, having become much reduced in fortune, kept a tavern in Greensboro'. He died in Mobile not many years since.

Simon Chaudron, one of the Tombigby settlers, formerly a resident of Philadelphia, where his house was a centre of elegance and wit, was distinguished for his literary attainments.

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He had been the editor of the "Abeille Americaine," and was a poet of considerable reputation. He delivered a eulogy upon the life and character of Washington, before the Grand Lodge of Philadelphia, which was pronounced a splendid effort, both in Europe and in America. He died in Mobile, in 1846, at a very advanced age, leaving behind him interesting works, which were published in France.

General Count Bertand Clausel had been an officer of merit throughout Bonaparte's campaigns. During the Hundred Days, he commanded at Bordeaux, and making the Duchess of Angloulême prisoner, released her, for some unknown cause. The general did not occupy his grant, but became a citizen of Mobile in 1821, living on the bay, furnishing the market with vegetables, and driving the cart himself. Returning to France in 1825, he was subsequently made, by Louis Philippe, governor and marshal of Algeria.

Henry L'Allemand who had been a lieutenant-general, commanding the artillery of the imperial guard, was an officer of great merit, and a man of high character. He married the niece of Stephen Gerard. General Charles L'Allemand, his brother, had also been an officer of distinction, in France. Filled with daring and ambitious projects, he employed the following language, in writing to his brother: "I have more ambition than can be gratified by the colony upon the Tombigby." This was literally true, for he soon made a hazardous expedition to Texas, collecting followers at Philadelphia and in Alabama. Arriving at Galveston Island, which was shortly afterwards submerged, his people suffered greatly

for provisions, and were generously relieved by the pirate, La Fitte. Annoyed by the Indians, and prostrated by disease, in a short time most of the colonists perished, and the establishment failed.

The celebrated Marshal Grouchy was one of the Philadelphia associates. He was a man of middle stature, and had very little, apparently, of the military about him. Not being popular with the refugees, in consequence of his conduct at Waterloo, to which they imputed the loss of that day, he became involved in controversies with them in the American gazettes. He never came to Alabama, but one of his sons, who had been a captain in the French army, settled his grant near Demopolis. The marshal afterwards returned to France, and enjoyed honors under the Bourbons.

M. Lackanal, a savant, and member of the academy, at the head of the department of public education, under the emperor, settled on the bay, near Mobile, in 1819. He was one of those members of the National Assembly of France, who voted for the death of Louis XVI. After a long residence in Mobile, he went to France, and there died in 1843.

Among all the refugees who sought homes in Alabama, none had passed through more stirring and brilliant scenes, than General Juan Rico, a native of Valencia, in Spain, who had been proscribed in that country, upon the return of Ferdinand VII., because he was a republican, and a supporter of the constitution of 1812. An eloquent member of the Cortes and a distinguished officer of the Spanish army, he resisted to the last the invasion of Napoleon. One day, an interesting

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scene occurred between General Rico and the elegant Desnoettes. Both being invited to dine at Demopolis, the conversation turned upon the campaigns in Spain, when allusion was made to the obstinate and sanguinary siege of Saragossa, where one of them had commanded the troops of France, and the other those of Spain. They were now assembled at a hospitable table, in an humble cottage, in the wilds of Alabama. They had met before, amid the din of arms, arraying their troops against each other, and pouring out rivers of blood, at the head of the best trained troops of Europe, who had figured in the most eventful times of France and Spain. Each had been expelled from his native country, and each had been blasted in his ambitious hopes. Nevertheless, good humor prevailed in the cabin, and the sorrows of all were drowned in wine, amid merry peals of laughter. In 1825, General Rico was re-called to Spain, and, arriving there, again became a member of the Cortes, under his favorite constitution. He met with singular reverses of fortune, was expelled from Spain the second time, became an inhabitant of England, and was again re-called to assist in the government of his country. When he lived in Alabama, he was fifty years of age, and was of a dark complexion. He possessed great energy and decision of character, and was a most excellent farmer. If our limits would permit it, many other interesting persons among the French emigrants might be described.

The principal portion of the French grant lay in Marengo county. This name was proposed by Judge Lipscomb, while a member of the legislature at St. Stephens, in honor of the great

battle fought during the French republic. It also extended into the county of Greene, embracing some of the best lands in the vicinity of Greensboro'. It has been seen that much difficulty arose among the French about their respective locations, and that three times they lost their improvements. Forced to abandon their settlements in Demopolis, they laid off the town of Agleville, and erected cabins, but the drawing at Philadelphia not embracing this place, they were once more forced to go deeper in the forest. The want of wagons and teams, and the great scarcity of water in the cane-brake, induced them to dwell on small allotments, while their more valuable tracts were unoccupied. Owning no slaves, a number of German redemptioners were imported, through the enterprise of Desnoettes, but these people proved a burden and expense, and also disregarded their obligations. The French were less calculated, than any other people upon earth, to bring a forest into cultivation. The provisions which they raised, were made at the expense of extravagant hire, and Desnoettes expended over twenty-five thousand dollars in opening and cultivating his farm. In this manner, the whole colony, after a few years, became poor, and many were forced to sell their claims to Americans, who soon opened large plantations, and made the earth smile with abundant products. However, a majority of the French still held on to their grants, and, in good faith to the government, entered upon the cultivation of the grape and olive. Importations of plants were often made from Bordeaux, but the newness of the land, and the ignorance of the colony in regard to their cultivation,

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were among the reasons why the experiment failed. The importations frequently arrived out of season, when the vines withered away and the olive seeds became defective. At length, with difficulty, grapes were grown, but they failed to produce even a tolerable wine, because the fruit ripened in the heat of summer. Before the vinous fermentation was completed, the acetic had commenced. In 1821, the French planted three hundred and eighty-three olive trees upon the grant, and a large number in 1824. Every winter the frosts killed them down to the ground, but new shoots, putting up, were again killed by the succeeding winter. The usual mode of planting the grape, was at the distance of ten feet in one direction, and twenty in the other. They were trained to stakes, and cultivated with cotton.

In addition to the ruinous failure of the vine and olive, the French were continually annoyed by unprincipled American *squatters*. Occupying their lands, without a shadow of title, they insultingly told the French that they intended to maintain their footing at all hazards. Several law-suits arose, and although our Supreme Court decided in favor of the grantees, yet the latter became worn out with controversies, and allowed the intruders, in many cases, to retain possession for a small remuneration. On the other hand, many honorable Americans purchased their grants, for fair considerations, and thus the French refugees were gradually rooted from the soil.

But, in the midst of all their trials and vicissitudes, the French refugees were happy. Immured in the depths of the Tombigby forest, where, for several years, want pressed them

on all sides,—cut off from their friends in France,—surrounded by the Choctaws on one side, and the unprincipled squatters and land-thieves on the other—assailed by the venom of insects and prostrating fevers—nevertheless, their native gaiety prevailed. Being in the habit of much social intercourse, their evenings were spent in conversation, music and dancing. The larger portion were well educated, while all had seen much of the world, and such materials were ample to afford an elevated society. Sometimes their distant friends sent them rich wines and other luxuries, and upon such occasions, parties were given, and the foreign delicacies brought back many interesting associations. Well cultivated gardens, and the abundance of wild game, rendered the common living of the French quite respectable. The female circle was highly interesting. They had brought with them their books, guitars, silks, parasols and ribbons, and the village, in which most of them dwelt, resembled, at night, a miniature French town. And then, farther in the forest, others lived, the imprints of whose beautiful Parisian shoes on the wild prairie, occasionally arrested the glance of a solitary traveller. And then, again, when the old imperial heroes talked of their emperor, their hearts warmed with sympathy, their eyes kindled with enthusiasm, and tears stole down their furrowed cheeks.*

* Conversations with George N. Stewart, Esq., of Mobile, who was the secretary of the French Vine Company ; also, conversations with Mr. Amand Pfister, of Montgomery, whose father was one of the French grantees.

CHAPTER XLII.

LAST TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE—STATE CONVENTION.

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THE second session of the Legislature of the Territory of Alabama convened at St. Stephens, in the fall of 1818. John W. Walker was Speaker of the House, and James Titus President of the Legislative Council. Among other acts, two new counties were formed—St. Clair, with the courts to be held at the house of Alexander Brown, and Autauga, with the courts to be held at Jackson's Mills, on Autauga Creek. The territory of the latter county was formerly attached to that of Montgomery. These new counties were added to the Middle Judicial District.

1818 Fall

The Bank of Mobile, with a charter extending to 1st Jan., 1839, and with a capital stock of five hundred thousand dollars, was established. The banks at St. Stephens and Huntsville were empowered to increase their capital stock, by selling shares at auction. The profits, to the extent of ten per cent., were to be divided among the stockholders, and, if there proved to be an excess, it was to be applied to the support of Green Academy, in Madison county, and the academy at St. Stephens.

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Governor Bibb was constituted sole commissioner, to lay off the seat of government, at the confluence of the Cahawba and Alabama. He was required to have the town surveyed, expose maps of the same at public places, and give ninety days notice of sale, out of the proceeds of which he was to contract for the building of a temporary capitol. About the last of November, the legislature adjourned, having determined to hold the next session at Huntsville.*

1819 March 2

The Territory of Alabama increased in population to such an extent, that Congress authorized the people to form a State constitution.

The following persons were elected members of the convention:

From the county of Madison—Clement C. Clay, John Leigh Townes, Henry Chambers, Samuel Mead, Henry Minor, Gabriel Moore, John W. Walker and John M. Taylor.

Monroe—John Murphy, John Watkins, James Pickens and Thomas Wiggins.

Blount—Isaac Brown, John Brown and Gabriel Hanby.

Limestone—Thomas Bibb, Beverly Hughes and Nicholas Davis.

Shelby—George Philips and Thomas A. Rodgers.

Montgomery—John D. Bibb and James W. Armstrong.

Washington—Israel Pickens and Henry Hitchcock

Tuscaloosa—Marmaduke Williams and John L. Tindal.

Lawrence—Arthur F. Hopkins and Daniel Wright.

* State Archives.

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FRANKLIN—Richard Ellis and William Metcalf.
COTACO—Melkijah Vaughan and Thomas D. Crabb.
CLARKE—Reuben Saffold and James McGoffin.
CAHAWBA—Littlepage Sims.
CONECUH—Samuel Cook.
DALLAS—William R. King.
MARENGO—Washington Thompson.
MARION—John D. Terrell.
LAUDERDALE—Hugh McVay.
ST. CLAIR—David Conner.
AUTAUGA—James Jackson.
BALDWIN—Harry Toulmin.
MOBILE—S. H. Garrow.

These members convened at Huntsville, on the 5th July, 1819. John W. Walker was chosen to preside over the convention, and John Campbell was elected its secretary.

Being about to introduce biographical notices of some of these members,* we begin with the following well-written sketch, prepared by a college companion and intimate friend of the distinguished person of whom he writes.†

"John W. Walker was born in Virginia, and, while yet a

* I regret to have occasion to observe that my application to the friends of *many* of the members of this convention, for information in relation to their birth, early life, and political career, has *not been responded to*, and hence I have been unable to embody in this work any notice of them.

† From the pen of Richard Henry Wilde, formerly of Georgia, but afterwards of New-Orleans, and now deceased.

child, accompanied his father, the Reverend Jeremiah Walker, who emigrated to Elbert county, Georgia. His preceptor in the rudiments of education was the Reverend Moses Waddel, long accustomed, with an honest pride, to enumerate among his pupils many of the most celebrated jurists and statesmen of the South. He graduated, with distinguished honor, at Princeton, preserving, during his collegiate course, an untarnished moral character, and acquiring, along with the reputation of an excellent scholar, a high relish for polite literature, which he ever afterwards retained. On leaving college, he applied himself to the study of the law, and, although more than once interrupted by illness, his quick and keen perception of the right and just, and the extent and variety of his previous attainments, speedily ensured him clear and comprehensive views of a science not always enjoyed by more laborious, but less sagacious, students. Seeking the temple, as a worshipper in spirit and in truth, who regarded jurisprudence, not as a craft or mystery, but the noblest of sciences, he thus insured his future superiority over practitioners who treat their profession as an art, and its principles as a mere collection of rules and codes.

"In 1810, Mr. Walker, then a resident of Petersburg, Georgia, married Matilda, the daughter of LeRoy Pope, Esq., of the same village, and removed with his father-in-law, and several of his neighbors, to Alabama, then a territory, where they became the first settlers of Madison county, and founded the now flourishing town of Huntsville. Here he began the practice of his profession, soon rose to eminence, and was

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repeatedly chosen a member of the Territorial legislature. In 1819, he declined the office of district judge, tendered him by President Monroe, and, in the same year, was chosen to preside over the convention which formed the constitution of the State, an instrument indebted to him for many of its best provisions.

"Immediately after its adoption, and the admission of Alabama into the Union, he was elected an United States Senator, an office which he held until 1823, when ill health compelled him to retire; and, on the 23d of April, of that year, he passed away from life, leaving behind him the memory of no fault, and the enmity of no human being.

"In person, Mr. Walker was tall, his figure slender but well formed, and his manners and address mild, graceful and prepossessing. He had blue eyes, brown hair, a fine complexion, handsome features, and a countenance whose expression, habitually pensive, kindled into animation, with every lofty thought and generous feeling. Even to a stranger, his appearance was highly engaging and attractive, while those who enjoyed his familiar conversation were charmed with the sweet, low tones of his colloquial eloquence, the intellectual music of a pure heart, a sound mind, a rich memory, and brilliant imagination. Surrounded by friends who loved and honored, or in the bosom of a family who idolized him, how often hours vanished unconsciously, in conversation, grave and gay, in the inexhaustible topics of art, science, literature, government and morals, to all of which his perfect urbanity, extensive reading, the refinement of his taste, and the delicacy

of his feelings, gave interest and novelty. His letters, many of which have been preserved by the writer, with reverential care, are models of the familiar epistolary style, correct and sparkling, yet free, cordial and unstudied—true to the feeling of the moment, and passing from the whimsical and excursive playfulness of Sterne, to the pathos of McKenzie, with all the graceful negligence of Byron or slip-shod gossip of Walpole.

"Before the higher aims or heavier burdens of life came upon him, he was, like most other men of genius, a rhymer, and the few specimens of his verse, which had currency in the circles of his love and friendship, were prized, not unreasonably, as jewels, by their possessors.

"Mr. Walker's literary attainments, far from impairing, increased his efficiency as a jurist and orator. Many, it is true, believe that belles-lettres scholarship is usually an impediment to forensic eloquence; but the examples of Mansfield and Blackstone, Story and Legaré, stamp this as a vulgar error. The prejudices of ignorance and envy may, indeed, retard the success of the more thorough-bred and highly educated; but, in this case, as in every other, where industry and good sense are not wanting, all learning is useful, as well as ornamental, and ultimately tends to form the character of a perfect advocate. As might naturally be expected, therefore, Mr. Walker's contemporaries at the bar speak of his professional skill and knowledge with the highest praise, and assigned to him the palm, for persuasive eloquence, readiness of resource, and gentlemanly bearing.

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"In the Senate, he was mainly instrumental in producing the passage of the first law for the relief of purchasers of the public lands, emphatically a bill of peace, which, while it saved the new State of Alabama from bankruptcy, preserved their affections to the Union, and led to the abolition of the credit system, thus preventing future evils.

"To this new theatre of usefulness and honor, Mr. Walker brought all the modest worth and unalloyed patriotism of Lowndes, with much of the easy and graceful manner of Forsyth, and, to his career as a statesman, only a longer life was wanting. But time, as it has been beautifully observed, is the indispensable ally of genius, in its struggle for immortality, and, though death may have shut the gate on other aspirants as highly gifted, it has never closed on one more fondly loved or more deeply mourned."

ARTHUR FRANCES HOPKINS was born near Danville, in the State of Virginia. He was a descendant of Arthur Hopkins, an Englishman, and a physician of very high standing, who settled, in the early part of the eighteenth century, in the colony of Virginia. His grandmother was a Miss Jefferson, a relative of the President of that name. His father, James Hopkins, was in the severe battle of Guilford Court House, a volunteer soldier of the United States, at the age of fifteen, and died at his residence, in Pittsylvania county, Virginia, in 1844.

In the pursuit of an education, ARTHUR FRANCES HOPKINS studied in an academy at New London, in Virginia, in another at Caswell Court House, North-Carolina, and at the

University at Chapel Hill. He received his law education in the office of the Honorable William Leigh, of Halifax county, Virginia, who was a distinguished jurist, and the brother of the celebrated Benjamin Watkins Leigh. In December, 1816, Mr. Hopkins, at the age of twenty-two, settled in the town of Huntsville, Alabama. Owning a plantation near Huntsville, and the price of cotton then being very high, and the practice of law in the valley of the Tennessee river worth but little, he relinquished his business at the bar, in the spring of 1818. In January, 1819, he moved to the county of Lawrence, was elected a member of the convention in May, of that year, and took his seat in that body, as we have seen. The people of Lawrence elected him to the State Senate, in August, 1822. He immediately ranked with the most talented and influential men, and endeavored, with all his ability and ingenuity, to dissuade the legislature from enacting a measure which, it is believed by many, has inflicted much evil. We allude to the establishment of the State Bank. His speeches, upon that occasion, were powerful efforts against the system of connecting bank and state, and the evils which he predicted have been, as many believe, most sensibly realized. His views were overruled by the legislature, only thirteen of the entire body, among whom were the Honorable Joshua L. Martin, afterwards Governor of Alabama, James Jackson, of Lauderdale, and Nicholas Davis, of Limestone, concurring with him. The opposition of Mr. Hopkins to the State Bank, which was called the People's Bank, diminished materially his popularity, which was shortly afterwards im-

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paired still more, by his opposition to the election of General Jackson to the office of President of the United States. He preferred Henry Clay to all other men, and supported him whenever he was a candidate for the Presidency. He voted for Judge White, in 1836, and for General Harrison, in 1840, again for Henry Clay, and, lastly, for General Taylor; but, as he emphatically said to us, one day, "never for General Jackson."

In March, 1825, Mr. Hopkins returned to Huntsville, and applied himself successfully to the profession of the law, without any interruption, until the summer of 1833, when he was returned a member of the legislature, from Madison county. The most exciting measure before the legislature was the "CREEK CONTROVERSY," then waging between the national administration and Governor John Gayle. Although personally friendly to the governor, and opposed to General Jackson, the conviction of his judgment led Mr. Hopkins to take the side of the administration, and, in support of his views, he delivered in the house a speech of power and research, which was published and widely distributed, giving him great reputation as a constitutional lawyer and statesman. Since the close of the session of 1833 and 1834, he has not been a representative of the people of this State. In January, 1836, he was elected, by the legislature, one of the judges of the Supreme Court, without opposition, and at the solicitation of both political parties, and, in 1837, he was appointed, by his associates on the bench, Chief Justice of Alabama. In December, 1836, the whig members of the legislature did

him the honor to vote for him, as a Senator in Congress, against the Honorable John McKinley. They conferred upon him the same unsolicited honor, in January, 1844, when Mr. Lewis was elected a Senator of the United States. In June, 1837, Judge Hopkins resigned his seat upon the bench, returned to Huntsville, engaged in the practice of the law, and was soon tendered by Mr. Van Buren the office of commissioner, with others, under a late treaty with the Cherokees, which he declined. During the Presidential canvass of 1840, Judge Hopkins was one of the whig electors, and addressed many public meetings, in North Alabama. At the Baltimore whig convention, in May, 1844, he presided as chairman, until the convention was fully organized, and, during that summer, he often addressed the people of Alabama, to induce them to vote for Mr. Clay, for the Presidency. Judge Hopkins appears to have always been a great favorite with the whig party, for they ran him upon a two day's ballot, when William R. King and Dixon H. Lewis were candidates for the United States Senate, during the first session of the legislature, held at Montgomery, and again, in the winter of 1849 and 1850, he was balloted for against Colonel King, to fill the vacancy which occurred in the Senate, and, when the latter succeeded over him, the whig party immediately ran him for the other vacancy in the Senate, against our excellent and much-admired friend, Governor Fitzpatrick. But the whigs, being in a minority, have never been able to place him in the United States Senate.

Judge Hopkins lives in Mobile, where he is regarded as a

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lawyer of ability, and as a gentleman of honor, benevolence and refinement. In person, he is compactly made, and rather large. He has an agreeable countenance, and is pleasant and affable in his manners.

WILLIAM RUFUS KING is a native of North-Carolina. He was born on the 7th April, 1786. His father, William King, was a planter, in independent circumstances, whose ancestors came from the north of Ireland, and were among the early settlers on James river, in the colony of Virginia. He was highly esteemed for his many virtues, and was elected a member of the State convention which adopted the Federal constitution. The mother of Mr. King was descended from a Huguenot family, which had been driven from France by the revocation of the edict of Nantz.

William Rufus King received his education at the University of North-Carolina, to which he was sent at the early age of twelve years. On leaving that institution, where his attention to his studies, and uniformly correct and gentlemanly deportment, had commanded the respect and regard of his fellows, and the approbation of the professors, he entered the law office of William Duffy, a distinguished lawyer, residing in the town of Fayetteville, North-Carolina, and, in the autumn of 1805, obtained a license to practice in the superior courts of the State. In 1806, he was elected a member of the legislature of the State, from the county of Sampson, in which he was born. He was again elected, the year following, but, on the meeting of the legislature, he was chosen solicitor by that body, and resigned his seat. Colonel King

continued in the practice of his profession, until he was elected a member of Congress, from the Wilmington district, which took place in August, 1810, when he was but little more than twenty-four years of age; but, as his predecessor's term did not expire before the 4th March, 1811, Colonel King did not take his seat in the Congress of the United States until the autumn of that year, being the first session of the twelfth Congress. This was a most important period in the history of the country. The governments of England and France had, for years, rivalled each other in acts destructive of the neutral rights, and ruinous to the commerce of the United States. Every effort had been made, but in vain, to procure an abandonment of orders in councils, on the one hand, and decrees on the other, which had nearly cut up the commerce of the country by the roots, and a large majority of the people felt that, to submit longer to such gross violations of their rights, as a neutral nation, would be degrading, and they called upon their government to protect those rights, even at the hazard of a war. In this state of things, Colonel King took his seat in the House of Representatives, and unhesitatingly ranged himself on the side of the bold and patriotic spirits in that body, who had determined to repel aggression, come from what quarter it might, and to maintain the rights and the honor of the country. The withdrawal of the Berlin and Milan decrees, by France, while England refused to abandon her orders in council, put an end to all hesitation as to which of those powers should be met in deadly strife. In June, 1812, war was declared against England, Mr. King

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advocating and voting for the declaration. He continued to represent his district in Congress during the continuance of the war, sustaining, with all his power, every measure deemed necessary, to enable the government to prosecute it to a successful termination; and not until the rights of the country were vindicated and secured, and peace restored to the land, did he feel at liberty to relinquish the highly responsible position in which his confiding constituents had placed him. In the spring of 1816, Colonel King resigned his seat in the House of Representatives, and accompanied William Pinckney, of Maryland, as Secretary of Legation, first to Naples and then to St. Petersburg, to which Courts Mr. Pinckney had been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary. Colonel King remained abroad not quite two years, having, in that time, visited the greater portion of Europe, making himself acquainted with the institutions of the various governments and the condition of their people. On his return to the United States, he determined to move to the Territory of Alabama, which determination he carried into effect in the winter of 1818–19, and fixed his residence in the county of Dallas, where he still resides. A few months after Colonel King arrived in the Territory, Congress having authorized the people to form a constitution and establish a State government, he was elected a member of the convention. Colonel King was an active, talented and influential member of that body, was placed on the committee appointed to draft a constitution, and was also selected by the general committee, together with Judge Taylor, now of the State of Mississippi, and Judge Henry Hitch-

cock, now no more, to reduce it to form, in accordance with the principles and provisions previously agreed on. This duty they performed in a manner satisfactory to the committee. The constitution, thus prepared, was submitted to the convention, and adopted, with but slight alterations.

On the adjournment of the convention, Colonel King returned to his former residence, in North-Carolina, where most of his property still was, and, having made his arrangements for its removal, set out on his return to Alabama. On reaching Milledgeville, in the State of Georgia, he received a letter from Governor Bibb, of Alabama, informing him that he had been elected a Senator in the Congress of the United States, and that the certificate of his election had been transmitted to the city of Washington. This was the first intimation which Colonel King had that his name even had been presented to the legislature, for that high position, and, injuriously as it would affect his private interests, in the then condition of his affairs, he did not hesitate to accept the honor so unexpectedly conferred upon him, and, leaving his people to pursue their way to Alabama, he retraced his steps, and reached the city of Washington a few days before the meeting of Congress. His colleague, the Honorable John W. Walker, had arrived before him.

Alabama was admitted as a State, and her senators, after taking the oath to support the constitution of the United States, were required to draw for their term of service, when Major Walker drew six years and Colonel King four. At the time that Alabama became a State of the Union, the

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indebtedness of her citizens for lands, sold by the United States, under what was known as the credit system, was nearly twelve millions of dollars. It was perfectly apparent that this enormous sum could not be paid, and that an attempt to enforce the payment could only result in ruin to her people. Congress became satisfied that the mode heretofore adopted, for the disposal of the public domain, was wrong, and a law was passed reducing the minimum price from two to one dollar and twenty-five cents the acre, with cash payments. This change was warmly advocated by our senators, Walker and King.

At the next session, a law was passed, authorizing the purchasers of public lands, under the credit system, to relinquish to the government a portion of their purchase, and to transfer the amount paid on the part relinquished, so as to make complete payment on the part retained. At a subsequent session, another law was passed, authorizing the original purchasers of the lands so relinquished to enter them at a fixed rate, much below the price at which they had been originally sold. To the exertions of Senators King and Walker, Alabama is mainly indebted for the passage of these laws, which freed her citizens from the heavy debt which threatened to overwhelm them with ruin, and also enabled them to secure their possessions upon reasonable terms.

Colonel King was elected a senator in 1823, in 1828, in 1834, and in 1840. His firm but conciliatory course insured for him the respect and confidence of the Senate, and he was repeatedly chosen to preside over that body, as president, pro

tem., the duties of which position he discharged in a manner so satisfactory, that, at the close of each session, a resolution was adopted, without a dissenting voice, tendering him the thanks of the body for the ability and impartiality with which he had discharged those duties. In the spring of 1844, Colonel King was offered the situation of Minister to France, which he declined, as he had, on previous occasions, refused to accept other diplomatic situations, which had been tendered to him, preferring, as he declared, to be a Senator from Alabama to any office which could be conferred on him by the General Government. At this time, the proposition for the annexation of Texas was pending, and there was but too much reason to believe that the British government was urging that of France to unite with her in a protest against such annexation. It was, therefore, of the highest importance to prevent, if possible, such joint protest, as, should it be made, must have inevitably resulted in producing hostilities with one or both of these powers; for no one, for a moment, believed that the government of the United States would be deterred from carrying out a measure which she considered essential to her interests, from any apprehension of consequences which might result from any combination of the powers of Europe. Colonel King was a decided advocate of the annexation of Texas, and, when urged by the President, and many of his friends in Congress, to accept the mission, he consented, under these circumstances, to give up his seat in the Senate. Colonel King, feeling the importance of prompt action, did not even return to his home, to arrange his private affairs, but repaired

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at once to New-York, and took passage for Havre. Arriving in Paris, he obtained an audience of the King, presented his credentials, and at once entered upon the object of his mission. After frequent conferences with the King of the French, who had kindly consented that he might discuss the subject with him, without going through the usual routine of communicating through the foreign office, Colonel King succeeded in convincing his majesty that the contemplated protest, while it would not arrest the proposed annexation, would engender on the minds of the American people a feeling of hostility towards France, which would operate most injuriously to the interests of both countries, now united by the closest bonds of friendship; and his majesty, ultimately, declared that "he would do nothing hostile to the United States, or which could give to her just cause of offence." The desired object was accomplished. England was not in a condition to act alone, and all idea of a protest was abandoned. Colonel King remained in France until the autumn of 1846, dispensing a liberal hospitality to his countrymen and others, and receiving from those connected with the government, and a large circle of the most distinguished individuals in Paris, the kindest attention. He returned to the United States in November, 1846, having requested and obtained the permission of the President to resign his office.

In 1848, the Hon. Arthur P. Bagby was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia, and resigned his seat in the Senate of the United States. Colonel King was appointed, by the Governor of Alabama, to fill the vacancy thus created; and, in 1849,

the term for which he was appointed having expired, he was elected by the legislature for a full term, of six years. In 1850, on the death of Gen. Taylor, the President of the United States, Mr. Fillmore, the Vice-President, succeeded to that high office, and Colonel King was chosen, by the unanimous vote of the Senate, President of that body, which places him in the second highest office in the government. Colonel King has ever been a decided republican, of the Jeffersonian school. He has, during his whole political life, opposed the exercise of implied powers on the part of the General Government, unless palpably and plainly necessary, to carry into effect an expressly granted power, firmly impressed with the belief, as he has often declared, that the security and harmony, if not the very existence of the Federal Government, was involved in adhering to a strict construction of the constitution.

In all the relations of life, Colonel King has maintained a spotless reputation; his frank and confiding disposition, his uniform courtesy and kindness, has endeared him to numerous friends, and commanded for him the respect and confidence of all who have had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

Colonel King is about six feet high, remarkably erect in figure, and is well proportioned. Brave and chivalrous in his character, his whole bearing impresses even strangers with the conviction that they are in the presence of a finished gentleman. His fine colloquial powers, and the varied and extensive information which he possesses, render him a most interesting companion.

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CLEMENT COMER CLAY was born in Halifax county, Virginia, on the 17th December, 1789. His father, William Clay, son of James Clay, and his mother, Rebecca, daughter of Samuel Comer, were Virginians by birth, and of English descent. His father, William Clay, entered the revolutionary army as a private soldier, at the early age of sixteen, and made several tours. He was in various engagements, and was present at the siege of Yorktown and the surrender of Cornwallis. At an early age, his father removed west of the Alleghanies, to Grainger county, East Tennessee.

Clement Comer Clay completed his education at the East Tennessee University, at Knoxville. Leaving college, he read law with the Honorable Hugh Lawson White, and obtained a license in December, 1809. He remained in East Tennessee until 1811, when he removed to Huntsville, where he has resided ever since. With a determined self-reliance, he pursued the practice of his profession steadily, and with gradually increasing profit, until the spring of 1817, taking no other interest in political matters than such as might be expected in any intelligent private citizen. When hostilities were commenced by the Creeks, in 1813, he performed military duty, as adjutant of a battalion of volunteers, called into service from Madison county; but he had volunteered, as a private soldier, in one of the companies of that battalion. This battalion never joined the army of General Jackson, in the Creek nation, but, under his orders, was kept on the frontier, south of Tennessee river, to watch the enemy, and repel any

advance which might be made. In the spring of 1817, the friends of Mr. Clay announced him as a candidate for the Territorial council, and he was elected, by more than two hundred votes above the next highest candidate who was returned. He went to St. Stephens, and discharged his duties during the two sessions held at that place, in a manner creditable to himself and useful to his constituents and the Territory. His absence, however, seriously interrupted a lucrative practice at the bar, and deprived him of the favorable opportunity of purchasing a valuable tract of land, near Huntsville, as a permanent home. When the convention was organized at Huntsville, Mr. Clay appeared, as one of the delegates from the county of Madison. An active and assiduous member, to its close, he was appointed chairman of the committee of FIFTEEN, to prepare and report a plan of government; and, in that capacity, brought forward a paper, containing the main features of the constitution, as it was originally adopted. When the convention terminated, he resolved to devote himself exclusively to the practice of his profession and to planting; but in December, 1819, before he had completed his thirtieth year, he was elected, without opposition, one of the judges of the circuit court. When the judges assembled at Cahawba, in May, 1820, although he was several years younger than any other one on the bench, he was elected by his associates the first chief justice of the State of Alabama. As judge, he served more than four years, when he resigned, in December, 1823, to resume the practice of his profession.

On his return to the bar, Judge Clay re-entered upon the

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practice of his profession, with his accustomed assiduity, energy and talents, and immediately obtained a highly lucrative business. But, in 1828, he was elected to the legislature, by the people of Madison, to advance their interests in the grant of four hundred thousand acres of land, made by Congress, for the improvement of the navigation of the Tennessee river. On his arrival at Tuscaloosa, then the seat of government, he was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, without opposition. He performed the high and responsible duties of that post, during the unusually long and exciting session of 1828–9, in a manner very satisfactory to the house. He participated in the debates upon the most important questions, and earned a reputation as an able legislator. Upon his return to Huntsville, his friends placed him in nomination for Congress. Captain Nicholas Davis, who had been a member of the Senate, and its president, was his opponent. The canvass was a most exciting one. Each candidate had numerous, active and influential friends. The district then consisted of the counties of Madison, Jackson, Limestone, Lauderdale and Lawrence. In Jackson, and the eastern part of Madison, the public lands had never been offered for sale, and the great question was, whether the *right of pre-emption* should be given to the pioneers. The government of the United States had sold all the lands in the other counties of the district in 1818–19–20, under the credit system, which then prevailed, at such enormous prices, as, under the change brought about by the reduced price of cotton, rendered many unable, and nearly all the original purchasers unwilling, to

pay for them. Consequently, nearly all the lands in those counties had been relinquished or forfeited, including, in many instances, the dwelling-houses, gin-houses and other improvements, and the question was, whether adequate relief should be obtained for the former purchasers, and those holding under them. Judge Clay and Captain Davis were both advocates of pre-emption rights, to the settlers on public lands, and relief to the unfortunate purchasers, who had relinquished or forfeited. Judge Clay, the successful candidate, took his seat in Congress in December, 1829, and devoted his best energies to the accomplishment of those great measures. He succeeded to his entire satisfaction, and the journals of Congress show the labor and talent which he employed, in aiding in the passage of the "relief laws." On his return home, he was everywhere greeted with expressions of praise and gratitude.

The tariff was one of the exciting questions then agitating the national councils. Judge Clay took the ground he has ever occupied, in favor of a revenue tariff and *ad valorem* duties, and delivered in Congress a creditable speech upon that subject. In another speech, he sustained General Jackson's policy and measures, in opposition to the Bank of the United States, and the removal of the deposites. He agreed with the administration, in the main, in regard to the tariff, and disapproved of the course taken by South-Carolina to nullify the tariff laws, yet he could not be induced to vote for the "force bill," as it was familiarly called. His regard for the sovereignty and rights of the States was such that he

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would not consent to give the Federal Executive additional power against any member of the confederacy, however much he condemned her action. Judge Clay's course in Congress was such that he never incurred opposition to his several re-elections, and in 1835 he was nominated as the democratic candidate for governor. At that time, Judge White was placed in nomination by his friends, as a candidate for the presidency, in opposition to Van Buren. Although Judge Clay's personal preferences were in favor of the claims of the former, and he would have preferred him, as the nominee, he would not consent to divide the democratic party, to which he belonged, and, therefore, he gave his support to Van Buren. This brought out opposition to him, in the person of General Enoch Parsons, but Judge Clay was elected governor, in August, 1835, by the largest majority ever given any candidate for that office in the State, being upwards of thirteen thousand votes. He was inaugurated as governor, in November, 1835.

Governor Clay has been charged with inactivity and neglect of duty, during the Creek war, in the spring of 1836. If we were writing a history of those times, we could vindicate him in a most successful manner, for we were then attached to the executive staff, and well remember what transpired. We cannot, however, refrain from remarking, that no man ever labored more assiduously to bring into the field a force sufficient to subdue the hostile Indians, and no one ever evinced more willingness to afford relief to his fellow-citizens in the Creek nation, or felt for them more anxiety.

As soon as he learned, at Tuscaloosa, the alarming condition of the settlers in the Creek nation, he addressed an order to Major General Benjamin Patteson, directing him to bring down a force from North Alabama, to hasten to the seat of war, and to assume the immediate command of all the Alabama troops, intended to be employed against the hostiles. At the same time, he addressed a letter to the commandant of the United States arsenal, at Mount Vernon, making a requisition upon him for arms, munitions and tent equipage, directing them to be shipped forthwith to Montgomery. At the same time, he also issued an order to Brigadier-General Moore, of the Mobile division, ordering him to send troops to Eufaula, upon the Chattahoochie. He then took a seat in the stage-coach, arrived at Montgomery, and temporarily established his head-quarters at that place. It was during a period when provisions of all kinds were scarce and exorbitantly high,—when the whole country had run mad with speculations,—and when even the elements were in commotion—tornadoes prostrating trees across the highways, and heavy rains swelling every stream and sweeping off every bridge. Yet, in spite of these things, he assembled a large force from North Alabama, from West Alabama, and from South Alabama. He caused a great quantity of arms, tent equipage and ammunition, to be brought up the river from the arsenal at Mount Vernon. He made the most judicious arrangements with highly responsible contractors, who sent forward from New-Orleans and Mobile an abundance of subsistence for the army. To meet some pressing necessities, he

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sold his own bill of exchange to the Bank of Montgomery for the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars. He exerted himself, in gaining over to our side many of the prominent Chiefs. Opothleoholo and eleven principal Chiefs came down to Montgomery, by his invitation, to whom he made an ingenious appeal, in the ball-room of the Montgomery Hall, in the presence of Colonel James E. Belser, Colonel John A. Campbell, Colonel George W. Gayle, and the author—who were his aids—and General Patteson, with his staff, among whom were Major J. J. Donegan, Major Withers, and others, who, at this moment, are not recollected. Opothleoholo responded in a "talk" of an hour's length. He concluded, by tendering to Governor Clay his services, and those of his people.

In short, an army of near three thousand men was organized, who reached the Creek nation by the time that General Jessup, who had been sent by the Federal Government to assume the command, arrived there.

In June, 1837, Governor Clay was elected to the United States Senate, without opposition, and shortly afterwards resigned the gubernatorial office. He took his seat in the Senate in September, 1837, (an extra session,) and served the four succeeding regular sessions, and the extra session of 1841. The journals of the Senate contain evidences of his talent and industry. In consequence of the ill-health of his family, he resigned his seat in the Senate.

Governor Clay is of medium size. He is erect in figure, and walks with elasticity, presenting but few of the marks of

age. His eyes are of a dark brown color, expressive and penetrating, and are ever in motion. Nothing escapes his observation; and while conversing with you, even upon a topic highly interesting to him, it is his custom, frequently to cast his eyes upon some one who has entered the room, or who is passing the streets, and then upon you. He tells an anecdote well, and is an agreeable companion. He is a brave man, and is exceedingly punctual and honorable in all the relations of life.

NICHOLAS DAVIS, a member of the convention, from the county of Limestone, will next be noticed. He was born on the 23d of April, 1781, in Hanovor county, Virginia, in a region of country familiarly called the "Slashes," where, also, the great orator of Kentucky first saw the light. He descended from the Davis and Ragland families, whose names are preserved in the archives of Virginia, as among the earliest settlers of Yorktown. He was educated in the same county, and partly in the same school, with Henry Clay.

Captain Davis never studied any profession, but has been all his life a farmer. He removed to Alabama, in March, 1817, and established himself at "Walnut Grove," in the county of Limestone, where he has resided ever since. After the termination of the convention, he was elected a member of the first legislature of the State of Alabama, which sat at Huntsville, in the fall of 1819. In 1820, he was again a member, at Cahawba, where the legislature was permanently established. The people of Limestone placed him in the Senate in 1821, and when he arrived at Cahawba, in the

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beginning of the winter, he was selected to preside over that body. His impartiality, honesty, firmness, talents and efficiency, caused him to be continued in the office of President of the Senate for the period of ten years.

In the preceding memoir, we have alluded to the Congressional canvass in which Captain Davis was engaged in the summer of 1829. It was exceedingly spirited. Governor Clay found him to be a truly honorable and liberal competitor, but a very formidable one. Every where Captain Davis met him upon the stump, and exhibited decided evidences of a first-rate popular speaker. At that period, Captain Davis was a man in the prime of life, of commanding person, vigorous constitution, and an honest and generous heart. Possessing a handsome and expressive countenance, beaming with intelligence, and a clear and distinct voice, he might have been pointed out as one of the noblest specimens of an intelligent yeomanry. He was defeated for Congress, as we have seen, although every man in the district who voted against him was ready to acknowledge that, as a representative, he would have been honest, faithful and efficient; but the early opposition which he made to General Jackson, in North Alabama, has served to build up a barrier to his political success.

The whig party of Alabama, upon whose list the name of Nicholas Davis has ever been among the first and most prominent, placed him upon the electoral ticket, in the memorable contest between Van Buren and Harrison. Again, when Clay and Polk were candidates for the presidency, Captain Davis was one of the whig electors, and frequently addressed

the people of North Alabama upon that occasion, in a zealous and eloquent manner, sometimes imploring them, even with tears in his eyes, to vote for the whig candidate! It was a fine theme for this gentleman, which at once brought out all his warm and generous feelings, emanating from the recollections of his youth, and the unbounded admiration which he has ever since entertained for Henry Clay.

His party supported him for the office of Governor of Alabama, against the Honorable John Gayle, but the democratic party being greatly in the ascendancy, the latter prevailed over him. When the Honorable Reuben Chapman was nominated by the democratic convention for governor, the whigs again supported Captain Davis for that office, and he was again defeated from the same cause.

As a legislator, Captain Davis was exceedingly sensible and useful. He manifested much firmness, in his opposition to the State Bank and its branches. He always preferred well regulated stock banks.

Captain Davis is large and well proportioned. His eyes are deep blue, very expressive, and indicative of benevolence, or much of the "milk of human kindness." He is a man of great energy of character, and is remarkable for his physical strength and industrious habits. He has ever been a patron of the turf. His horses have run at New-Orleans, Nashville, Mobile, and through the South generally. He was present at the celebrated contest between the horses of Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, and James Jackson, of North Alabama, at Huntsville.

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Captain Davis still lives at "Walnut Grove," esteemed and respected by all classes and all parties. Many refined and intelligent gentlemen in Huntsville and its vicinity, and other portions of North Alabama, deem it their imperative, but most pleasing duty, to pay him two long visits every year. Often *his large old log-house*, which he erected when he first came to Alabama, and which he venerates so much that he would not exchange it for a palace, contains forty or fifty visitors at one time, who, for days together, are entertained by his agreeable conversation, fed from his abundant table, and delighted with the survey of his extensive groves, rich fields, happy negroes, fine blooded horses, and sleek and well formed cattle.

REUBEN SAFFOLD was born in Wilkes county, Georgia, on the 4th September, 1788. He received such an education as was usually imparted at a common academy, where he made some proficiency in the Latin language. He studied law with ——— Paine, of Watkinsville, Clarke county, Georgia, and in that place he entered upon the practice of his profession. In the spring of 1811, he married Mary Philips, daughter of Colonel Joseph Philips, then of Morgan county, Georgia, who soon after removed to the southern part of Alabama.

Mr. Saffold, in the spring of 1813, established himself at the town of Jackson, situated upon the Tombigby river, then in the Mississippi Territory. Soon, thereafter, the Indian war broke out, and he at once became actively engaged in the protection of a suffering people and an exposed frontier.

Holding at the time the rank of colonel in the militia, he nevertheless raised a company of sixty volunteers, and, as their captain, scoured the thickets, from the mouth to the head of the Perdido river, upon which occasion several Indians were killed, while others were driven to the more remote parts of Florida. But, before he made this tour, he had been a participant, as a private, in the battle of Burnt Corn, and was one of those who fought bravely, and retreated among the last. During these early times, he was also a member of the legislature of the Mississippi Territory at several sessions. When peace was restored, he entered upon the practice of his profession, but, in 1819, he was chosen a member of the convention. At the session of the legislature of the State of Alabama, held at Huntsville, in the fall of 1819, he was elected, without opposition, one of the circuit judges, and in December of that year he removed to the residence at which he died, in the county of Dallas.

Judge Saffold held the office of circuit judge, under various re-elections, with distinguished ability and honor, until January, 1832, when the legislature authorized the organization of a separate Supreme Court. Then, he was elected one of the three who were to constitute that court. Upon this new theatre of judicial labor, he lost none of the high and deserved reputation which he had acquired in the "court below." At the January term of 1835, Judge Lipscomb resigned the office of chief justice, and Judge Saffold was selected in his place. He occupied this dignified position until the spring of 1836, when he resigned it, and bid a final

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adieu to the bench, having held the office of judge for more than sixteen years. The reports of the Supreme Court of Alabama are enduring memorials of his strength of mind, patient investigation, deep research and profound learning. Before the separate organization, the people of the whole State had it in their power to scan his acts as a circuit judge. They remember him to have been firm and dignified, but not austere. Wherever he presided entire order and decorum prevailed, and he was respected and admired by both clients and attorneys. Such, indeed, was his reputation throughout the State, and such was the confidence reposed in him, that his retirement from the bench was a source of public regret. When Judge Henry Goldthwaite resigned his seat upon the bench of the Supreme Court, Governor Fitzpatrick tendered the vacancy to Judge Saffold, who declined it.

Judge Saffold, a few years after his resignation, resumed the practice of the law, and pursued it with distinguished success until his death. His political opinions, although he never sought political preferment, and engaged but little in the exciting contests of the times, were well known. He was a democrat. He was warmly devoted to the interests of the South. The firm friend of Texian independence, he rejoiced in her annexation to the United States. A devoted husband and father, it was his fortune to raise a large family, and most nobly did he discharge his duty to them. As a master, he was kind, merciful and just. He never attached himself to any church, yet he was a firm believer in the atonement, and was accustomed to express the confident hope that he had

nothing to fear beyond the grave. He died of apoplexy on the 15th February, 1847. He was a large man, with an excellent face, and an exceedingly fine forehead. No man of distinction has ever died in Alabama, leaving behind more reputation for legal ability, and for honor, justice and probity.

ISRAEL PICKENS was born on the 30th January, 1780, in the county of Mecklenburg, State of North-Carolina. He was the second son of Captain Samuel Pickens, a gentleman of French descent, who served his country in the revolutionary war, against the British and tories in the two Carolinas. Israel Pickens received his academic education partly in South-Carolina, but principally at a school in Iredell county, North-Carolina, and finished his studies at Washington College, Pennsylvania, where he also completed his law education. He returned to his native State, established himself at Morganton in the practice of the law, lived there many years, and occasionally represented Burke county in the legislature. In 1811, he was elected to Congress from that district, and continued to represent it till the year 1817. He gave his vote for the war of 1812, and continued a firm supporter of all the prominent measures of President Madison's administration. Mr. Pickens removed to Alabama in 1817, and settled at St. Stephens, where he practiced law, and held the post of Register of the Land Office.

After the death of Governor Bibb, Mr. Pickens was elected as his successor, in 1821, and again in 1823; filling up the period allotted to him by the constitution. Very soon after the expiration of his last term as governor, a vacancy occurred

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in the Senate of the United States, by the death of Dr. Chambers, and Governor Pickens was appointed by the executive to fill it. A few days after his departure to Washington city, a letter was received at Greensboro', conveying a commission for him as District Judge of the United States, for Alabama, which he declined to accept. In the fall of 1826, he resigned his seat in the Senate, and returned home, in consequence of a serious affection of the lungs. He died in the Island of Cuba, on the 24th April, 1827, at the early age of forty-seven years.

Governor Pickens was six feet high, very slender and erect, with a fair complexion and blue eyes. In all the attributes of a moral nature, he was, indeed, a remarkable man. His manners were easy, affable and kind—his temper mild, amiable, and always the same. Benevolence was a predominant trait in his character. He had a finished education, and talents of a high order—more solid than brilliant. As a public man, he was very popular, and, although mild and gentle in his deportment, no one was firmer in the discharge of his public duties. He possessed extraordinary mechanical ingenuity, and a great fondness for mathematics, natural philosophy and astronomy. While a student under Dr. Hale, of North-Carolina, he invented the lunar dial, by which the time of night could be ascertained by the moon. While a member of Congress, the celebrated Reidheifer pretended to have discovered the perpetual motion, and exhibited a model in Washington city, to the inspection of which he invited the members of Congress. Mr. Pickens, with many others, at-

tended and witnessed its performance; and being satisfied that there was deception in the matter, he returned the next day and gave it a more thorough examination. Finding the doors open he entered, but there was no one within. During this second visit, he detected the fraud and exposed it, by inserting a card in the National Intelligencer, signed "A Member of Congress." This brought forth a bitter reply from the impostor, and a rejoinder from the "Member of Congress," but, in a few days, Reidheifer, model and all, left the city, never again to return.*

* A notice of James Jackson, a member of the convention from Autauga, will be found near the close of this volume.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE FIRST LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALABAMA—GOVERNOR BIBB.

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Summer of 1819

An election was held throughout the new State of Alabama, for a governor and members of legislature, in anticipation of the admission, by Congress, of the State, as a member of the American Union. William W. Bibb received eight thousand three hundred and forty-two votes for governor, and his opponent, Marmaduke Williams, received seven thousand one hundred and forty.

1819 October

The General Assembly of Alabama convened at Huntsville, on the fourth Monday in October. The House of Representatives was composed of forty-five members, and James Dellet, of Monroe, was elected Speaker. The Senate had twenty-one members, and Thomas Bibb was elected President of that body.

November 9

William W. Bibb was inaugurated, as the first governor of the State, before both houses of the legislature, in the presence of a large assemblage of citizens, to whom he made a handsome and appropriate address. He had, previously, presented an excellent message, in which he congratulated

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the people upon the abundant crops which it had pleased the Almighty to afford them, the health which they had universally enjoyed, and the fortunate termination of the convention, which had resulted in the establishment of an excellent constitution. He brought to the attention of the legislature the subject of the liberal donations, by Congress, in reserving, for a seminary of learning, seventy-two sections of land—the sixteenth section in every township for the use of schools—five per cent. of the nett proceeds of the sales of the public lands, (sold after the first of September, 1819,) for purposes of internal improvements—and sixteen hundred and twenty acres of land, at the confluence of the Cahawba and Alabama rivers, for a seat of government. He reported that he had laid off the town of Cahawba, and that one hundred and eighty-two lots had been sold, for one hundred and twenty-three thousand eight hundred and fifty-six dollars—one-fourth of which, received in cash, had been deposited in the Planters' and Merchants' Bank of Huntsville, to be expended in the erection of a temporary State-house, which was then under contract. The message concluded by recommending a revision of the statutes, the organization of the judicial department, the election of judges, and the appointment by law of an engineer, to examine the rivers, who was to report in what manner their navigation might be improved.

1819 November 9

The legislature proceeded to elect two Senators of the United States. William R. King and John W. Walker were elected, upon the first ballot, over Thomas D. Crabb and George Philips.

CHAPTER XLIII. Session of 1819

During the session of the legislature, General Jackson visited Huntsville, with his horses, and was enthusiastically engaged in the sports of the turf, then an amusement indulged in by the highest classes. Colonel Howell Rose, a Senator from the county of Autauga, was also at Huntsville. Colonel Rose was then a young man of indomitable energy and fearless spirit, and possessed a native intellect of remarkable vigor and strength. He was ardent in his attachment to Jackson, and was the first to propose resolutions approbatory of his valuable services to the State, performed during the late Creek and Seminole wars. Colonel Rose introduced joint resolutions, of this character, together with one inviting the general to a seat within the bar both of the House and the Senate, on all occasions when it should be his pleasure to attend those bodies, which were adopted. Colonel Rose, at the head of a committee, waited upon Jackson, with a copy of the resolutions, to which the latter replied in a letter full of the liveliest gratitude. Since that interesting occasion Colonel Rose has, from time to time, performed valuable services to the State, as a member of the General Assembly. He is a wealthy citizen of the county of Coosa. His mind, naturally one of the richest in the country, and improved by self-instruction, is still vigorous and clear, while his agreeable eccentricity of manner, and original ideas and sayings, engage the attention of all who are thrown in his way. His colloquial powers are of a very high as well as of a very peculiar order. He delivers his views with force and energy, and is never at a loss for a spicy repartee. While he was addressing

the members of the legislature, he never failed to engage their attention. Colonel Rose was born in North-Carolina, removed from thence to Georgia, and emigrated to Alabama, soon after the Creek war. CHAPTER XLIII.

So soon as the judicial circuits were organized, the legislature proceeded to elect officers. Henry Hitchcock, the former Territorial Secretary, was elected Attorney-General, over John S. N. Jones and D. Sullivan. Abner S. Lipscomb was elected Judge of the First Judicial Circuit, over Harry Toulmin; Reuben Saffold, Judge of the second, without opposition; Henry Y. Webb, Judge of the third, without opposition; Richard Ellis, Judge of the fourth, over Beverly Hughes and John McKinley; Clement C. Clay, Judge of the fifth, without opposition.

John Gayle was elected Solicitor of the First Judicial Circuit, without opposition; Constantine Perkins, of the third, over Sion L. Perry; Peter Martin, of the fourth, without opposition; James Eastland, of the fifth, over James W. McClung and Poladore Naylor.

The legislature was exceedingly anxious to see the laws enforced; and, for that purpose, selected magistrates from among the most respectable and prominent men throughout the State. They discharged the same duties which the Judges of the County Courts had done, previous to the adoption of the present Probate system, and as was the practice of Virginia. A few of those now selected must be mentioned, merely to show the determination of our then infant State, to give tone and dignity to the administration of the laws, even in inferior courts.

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For the county of Autauga, for instance, John A. Elmore, John Armstrong, Robert Gaston, James Jackson, and William R. Pickett, were elected magistrates.

General John A. Elmore, one of these justices, was a native of South-Carolina, of the legislature of which State he had often been a respectable member. Not long after his removal to Alabama, he represented the county of Autauga in our legislature, which then sat at Cahawba. He was a man of firmness and much good sense, and always delivered his opinions, even in common conversation, in a distinct and loud voice, with that candor and honesty which characterized his conduct through life. He had a commanding appearance, was large in person, and, altogether, an exceedingly fine looking man. He delighted in the sports of the chase, being a most successful and spirited hunter, and an agreeable companion in the many camp-hunts in which he engaged with his neighbors and friends. Towards the close of his life, we remember that he presented a dignified and venerable appearance, and we saw him preside as chairman of several large and exciting meetings, in the town of Montgomery, during the days of nullification.

James Jackson, another of these magistrates, was born in the county of Wilkes, Georgia. He had been a man of influence in that region. Upon his arrival, in 1818, in the Territory of Alabama, he immediately ranked with the leading men of the county of Autauga. He was elected a member of the State convention, and assisted to give us the excellent constitution we now have. Afterwards, Mr. Jackson was

several times an active and influential member of the House of Representatives, and of the Senate, of the State of Alabama. He died the 19th July, 1832, at his residence in Autauga, within a few miles of that of General Elmore, who also died about that period. Mr. Jackson was a man for whom nature had done much. Although raised upon the frontiers of Georgia, among a rude population, and thrown upon the world with but little means, and still less education, he was decidedly elegant in conversation, and polite and polished in his manners. He had the faculty of adapting himself to all classes. In person, he was of medium size, his face was handsome and expressive, and, when meeting a friend, was generally enlivened with a smile. He was a most excellent and liberal neighbor. Smooth and fluent in conversation, and conciliating in his general views, he was a most delightful fireside companion. He was shrewd and sagacious, and a close and correct observer of human nature.

The author, being the son of WILLIAM R. PICKETT, another of the Autauga magistrates, is relieved from the delicate task of portraying his character, by copying the following obituary, written by a friend for the gazettes:

"Colonel William Raiford Pickett died at his residence, in Autauga county, on the 20th September, 1850, aged seventy-three years. Colonel Pickett was born in Anson county, North-Carolina, upon the Pedee river, where his parents, James Pickett and Martha Terry, had removed sometime before the revolutionary war, from their place of nativity, near Bolling Green, in Caroline county, Virginia. Their ances-

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tors, whose extraction was Scotch, English and French, were among the earliest colonists of Virginia.

"Soon after he became of age, Colonel Pickett filled the post of sheriff of Anson county, and was afterwards elected to the legislature, which sat at Raleigh, where he served for several years. When the federal revenue was collected by direct taxation, he received from Mr. Madison, then President, the appointment of assessor and collector for a large district in North-Carolina, the arduous and responsible duties of which he discharged to the end, with zeal and fidelity.

"In the spring of 1818, he brought his family out to this country, and established himself, as a planter and merchant, in the present Autauga county, which then formed a portion of the county of Montgomery. Two years before this early period, he had explored these south-western wilds, in company with his near relative and friend, Tod Robinson, encountering dangers and hardships incident upon the close of a sanguinary war with the Creeks.

"When the legislature of Alabama sat at Cahawba, Colonel Pickett took his seat in that body, in 1821. In 1823, he was a member, and again, in 1824, which term closed his duties in the Lower House. In 1828, he was elected to the State Senate, and entered that body in the fall of that year, at Tuscaloosa, then the capitol of Alabama. He was a Senator for the period of five years, when, in the summer of 1834, he was beaten, for that position, by Colonel Broadnax, during an exceedingly high state of party excitement, the election turning solely upon party grounds, and many of his old

friends voting against him, with much reluctance. In his legislative career, he was an active and very influential member, and was the originator of many salutary laws, some of which are still in force. In the meantime, he was *three* times placed upon the democratic electoral ticket, for President and Vice-President, and, each time, received overwhelming majorities.

"He was a man of sterling honor and integrity, and, perhaps, no one ever surpassed him in disinterested benevolence and charity, for he not only supported the poor and destitute around him, but freely dispensed to those upon the highway. In person, he was large, erect and commanding, with a face beaming with intelligence, a forehead bold and lofty, and eyes brilliant and expressive, to the last moments of his existence. He was peculiarly remarkable for his wit and originality, and the risible faculties of more men have been aroused, while in his company, than in that of almost any other person. And even to this day, in North-Carolina, though thirty-two years have transpired since he left that State, his original sayings and anecdotes are often repeated. No man ever received more attention, during his protracted illness, from those in his immediate neighborhood, who deeply mourn his departure from their midst. Persons from all parts of the country visited him in his affliction."

The legislature of Alabama, during its session at Huntsville, enacted many salutary laws, and judiciously arranged the districts. Six new counties were established, and were added to those already organized. They were Greene, Jef-

CHAPTER XLIII. Session of 1819

ferson, Perry, Henry, Wilcox and Butler. Wilcox was named in honor of the lieutenant, who, in 1814, was killed by the Indians, upon the Alabama river, as we have seen, and Butler in memory of the captain, who was also killed by the Indians, near Fort Dale, on the 20th March, 1818. The legislature adjourned on the 17th December, 1819.*

1819–1820

The land offices at Milledgeville and Huntsville were in active operation. Extensive surveys had been completed, sales had been everywhere proclaimed, and thousands of eager purchasers flocked into the country, from every Atlantic and Western State. Never, before or since, did the population of any State so rapidly increase as that of Alabama, from the period of 1820 until 1830.

No sooner had the flourishing State of Alabama been thoroughly organized, than the citizens were called to mourn the death of their first governor. Riding in the forest one day, the horse of Governor Bibb fell with him to the ground, and he then received an injury, from which he never recovered. He died at his residence, in the county of Autauga, in July, 1820, in the fortieth year of his age—calm, collected, peaceful—surrounded by numerous friends and relations.

Governor Bibb was five feet ten inches in height, with an erect but delicate frame. He was exceedingly easy and graceful in his bearing. His interesting face bore the marks of deep thought and great intelligence. His eyes, of a dark color, were mild, yet expressive. Whether thrown into the

* State Archives.

company of the rude or the refined, his language was pure and chaste. No one ever lived, either in Georgia or Alabama, who was treated with a greater degree of respect by all classes. This was owing to his high moral character, unsurpassed honor, excellent judgment, and a very high order of talents. Entirely free from that dogmatism and those patronizing airs, which characterize many of our distinguished men, he invariably treated the opinions of the humblest citizen with courtesy and respect. He was, however, a man of firmness, swaying the minds of men with great success, and *governing* by seeming to *obey*.

In all the stations which he filled, Governor Bibb was eminently successful. When quite a young man, his skill and attention as a physician, in the then flourishing town of Petersburg, Georgia, secured for him an extensive practice. He next went into the legislature from Elbert county, and, serving four years in that body, acquired a popularity rarely attained by one of his age. At the early age of twenty-five, he was elected to Congress under the General Ticket System, by a vote so large as to leave no doubt but that he was a great favorite with the people. He immediately became a leading member of the Lower House of the National Legislature—was an able and fearless advocate of the war of 1812, and a conscientious supporter of the administration of Madison. His contemporaries, at his first election, were Bolling Hall, George M. Troup and Howell Cobb. He had not been long in Congress before his popularity caused him to come within a few votes of being elected to the office of Speaker of

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the House. Afterwards, the legislature of Georgia elected him to the Senate of the United States. He was thus a member of Congress from 1806 until 1816, when, as we have seen in the preceding pages, he was appointed by the President Governor of Alabama *Territory*, and was afterwards elected by the people Governor of the *State* of Alabama. In reference to his Congressional career, we have often heard, from the lips of many of his distinguished contemporaries, that the practical order of his mind, the wisdom of his views, and the peculiar music of his voice, contributed to render him one of the most attractive and effective of speakers.

When Governor Bibb first established himself as a physician, he married Mary, only daughter of Colonel Holman Freeman, of revolutionary memory, and then a citizen of Wilkes county. She was one of the most beautiful and accomplished ladies of her day, and has ever been esteemed and admired by the early inhabitants of Alabama. She is now residing in the county of Dallas, in the enjoyment of fine health. Governor Bibb left two children, by this lady—a son and a daughter. The latter, the late Mrs. Alfred V. Scott, who died some years ago, was much like her father, in the mildness of her disposition, the grace and ease of her manners, and the intellectual beauty of her face.

After the death of Governor Bibb, his brother, Thomas Bibb, who was President of the Senate, became the acting governor. He was a man of strong mind and indomitable energy.

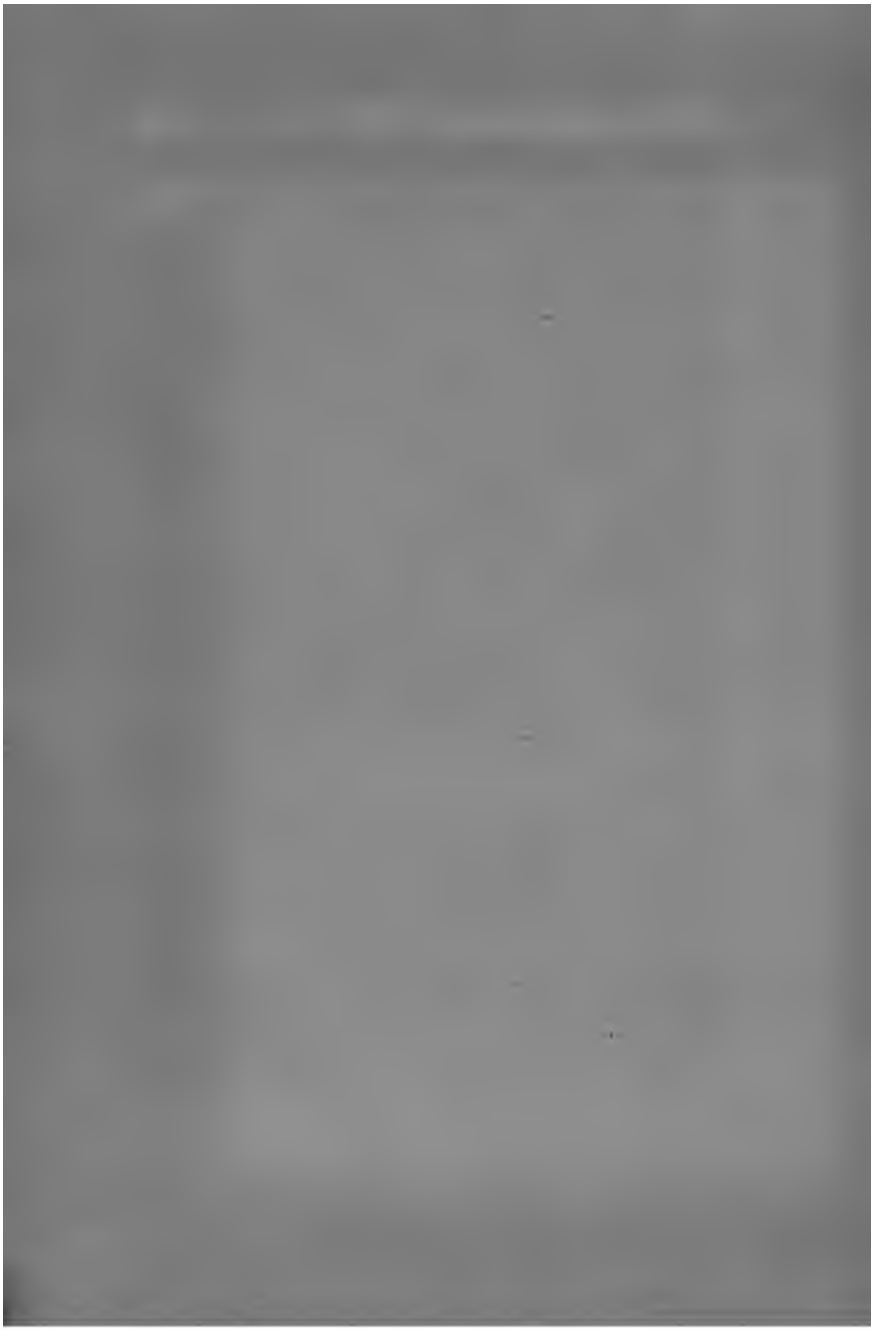
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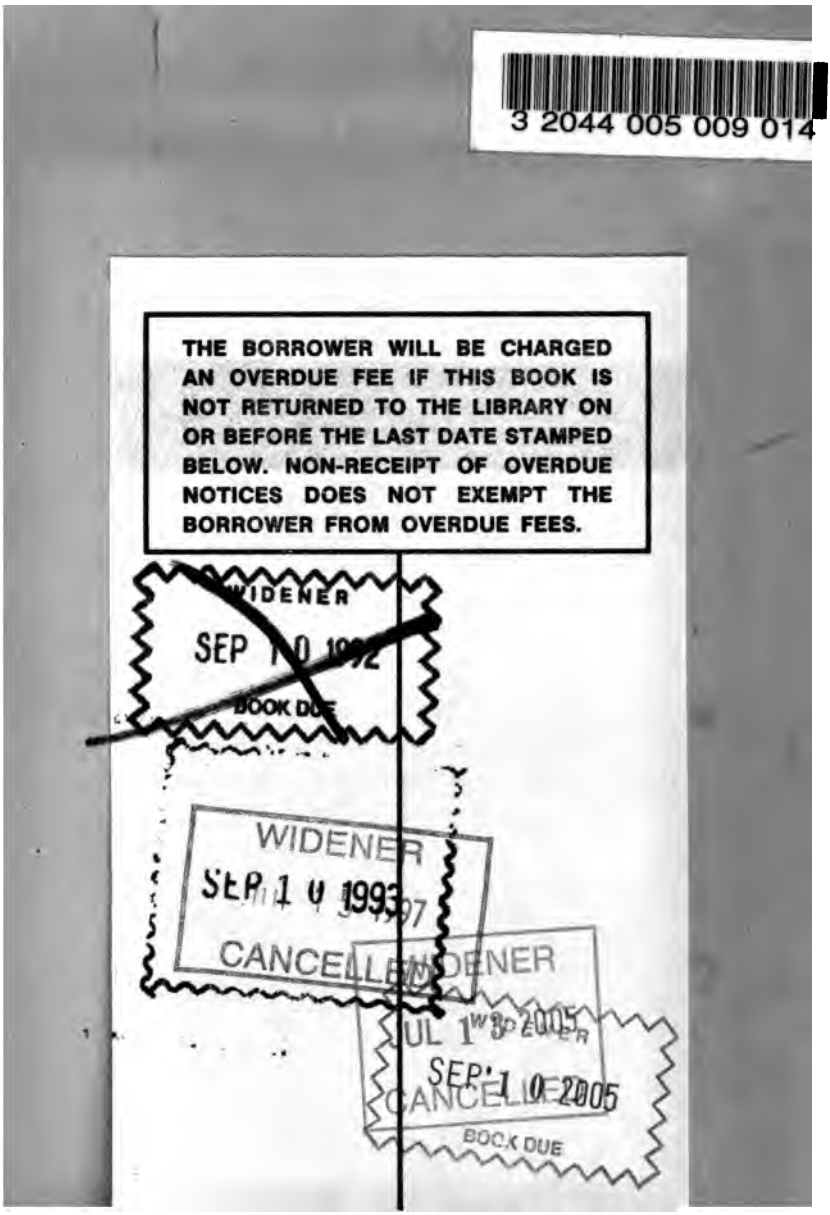
Governor Bibb. She was one of the most remarkable women we ever knew, for energy, decision, and superior sense. When Captain Bibb, her husband, died, he left her with eight children, and an estate much embarrassed by debt. Benajah, the ninth child, was born a few months after the death of his father. Mrs. Bibb worked the estate out of debt—educated her children, and lived to see them all in affluence, and many of them enjoying offices of honor and profit. She was known to the early inhabitants of Alabama, by whom she was much esteemed, as Mrs. Barnett, having married a gentleman of that name. Thomas Bibb resembled his mother more than any of the children, in the native strength of his mind and the energy of his character. The memory of Governor William Wyatt Bibb is preserved in the name of a county in Georgia, and one in Alabama.

But here we lay down our pen. The early history of Alabama, as far as it rests in *our* hands, is ended, and our task is accomplished. To some other person, fonder than we are of the dry details of State legislation and fierce party spirit, we leave the task of bringing the history down to a later period.

THE END.






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